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Details of SS-12 Missile Destruction Noted

LD0108205788 Moscow TASS in English 1910 GMT 1 Aug 88

[Text] Alma-Ata August 1 TASS—TASS special correspondents Vladimir Itkin and Gennadiy Talalayev report: The first shorter-range missiles, which were removed from operational standby, were eliminated at the Soviet military facility in Saryozek, Kazakhstan, today.

The conclusion of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on scrapping intermediate- and shorter-range missiles became possible largely thanks to the anti-war actions of the international public. The mass actions to protest the deployment of new nuclear missiles in Europe, that swept through the European countries, the United States and Canada, demonstrated that the people reject the arms race and demand that their governments take practical measures for disarmament, first and foremost, nuclear disarmament. Therefore, the anti-war peace-making movements and organisations of various orientation welcomed the beginning of Soviet-U.S. negotiations and contributed in every way to their successful completion.

During the summit meeting in Moscow the Soviet Peace Committee organised an international public center to monitor the course of the meeting.

During the official discussion of the Soviet-U.S. treaty in the USSR Supreme Soviet the Soviet Peace Committee organised one more discussion—a public one during which the idea was launched of supplementing an official inspection with an international public monitoring of the implementation by both sides of the INF Treaty.

The Soviet Peace Committee approached the USSR Defence Ministry with the request to afford representatives of the foreign and Soviet public an opportunity to be present at the first action of the elimination of missiles under the Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty. It received the affirmative answer.

Journalists were given an opportunity to inspect the missiles which will cease to exist later. There are four SS-12 missiles at the site. Briquettes of explosives are seen along the perimeter and body of the weapons. Representatives of the U.S. team of inspectors who arrived here to monitor the work inspected the four missiles and the explosion site. U.S. military inspectors speak highly of the skill, promptness and conscientiousness in the handling of the work by the Soviet side.

Michael Hritsik, lieutenant-colonel of the U.S. Air Force who heads the team of inspectors, told TASS that it was a great honour for him to witness such a historic event. He said he could not even suppose it a year ago. Excellent working and living conditions were created for them. The Americans saw for themselves that the process to prepare the missiles for destruction undergoes according to the plan.

None of the representatives of the U.S. mass media arrived in Saryozek. They alluded to the visit of the U.S. Secretary of Defence Frank Carlucci to the USSR. But dozens of other foreign correspondents were present here. They arrived in the Kazakhstan steppe on the invitation of the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

The missiles were destroyed in the presence of representatives of the public of various countries, who could observe the process to prepare and destroy these missiles by the explosion method, Viktor Karpov, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Directorate on Problems of Arms Limitation and Disarmament, told the TASS correspondents.

This is the first official act of the destruction of missiles. It will be followed by others. All missiles of both intermediate and shorter ranges should be destroyed within the three-year time frame. This act sets the beginning to the process whose irreversibility should be guaranteed not only by the INF Treaty but also by a Soviet-U.S. treaty on slashing by half strategic offensive armaments, which is being elaborated now. If the efforts to conclude a treaty on a 50 percent reduction succeed in the near future, this will signal one more major breakthrough in lessening the nuclear threat looming large over mankind.

Moscow TV Shows Missiles' End

LD0108204188 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 1 Aug 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by unidentified correspondent]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] The planned elimination of shorter-range missiles began today in the region of Saryozek, Kazakh SSR, in accordance with the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles.

This is the former missile base of Saryozek, near the Kazakh city of Taldy-Kurgan. Like the trunks of felled trees, here are the shorter-range OTR-22 and OTR-23 missiles and their containers. Here in Saryozek, these missiles will be destroyed over the course of the next 18 months. The first four of these missiles are being blown up today—OTR-22 shorter-range missiles. [video shows journalists filming the missiles; shots of missiles lying on the ground; four other missiles seen lying further afield] The first peaceful explosion of missiles is being conducted not only under the supervision of officials, but also of the public. Representatives of the largest and most influential antiwar organizations from 17 countries, 4 international organizations, and the Soviet Peace Committee have been invited to Saryozek. [passage omitted]

[Lieutenant Colonel A.I. Borodin, identified by caption] On this day, 1 August, our missile and aviation base is beginning the elimination of shorter-range missiles. The military personnel, as well as everyone else, understand this responsible task, this task of the state. And we will fulfill the task successfully.

[Correspondent] Following tense expectation—a missile explosion, which evokes not fear, but joy. For mankind's treasured dream has come true; the first step has been taken from the nuclear abyss along the road to a world without weapons of mass destruction. This is the crater after today's explosion of missiles, and this is what was left of these missiles: fragments. The whole of mankind hopes that there will be many more of these fragments instead of missiles. [video shows explosion in the distance, journalists applauding, and correspondent showing a fragment of one of the missiles]

U.S. Inspectors Monitor Event

LD0108205188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 1 Aug 88

[Text] The USSR has shown an example of a constructive approach toward solving international problems. Representatives of the world public and foreign journalists, who have arrived in the Saryozek region to observe the start of the planned elimination of shorter-range missiles, have again convinced themselves of this. Representatives of international and national peace organizations and Soviet and foreign journalists are interested in literally everything: how the technological process of destroying the missiles was worked out; how effective is verification [kontrol]; and the possible consequences of the explosions. Militarily precise and exhaustive replies are forthcoming to all questions.

It is becoming clear, for instance, that, as test explosions have shown, the quantity of various substances and gases emitted into the atmosphere over a week is smaller than is the case with a medium-capacity heat and power station operating over a 1-month period. As has been provided for in the treaty, U.S. inspectors are monitoring the event to ensure that the conditions for eliminating the shorter-range carrier missiles are strictly adhered to.

Thus, this truly historic event has been accomplished. The practical implementation of the Soviet-U.S. treaty has begun.

Karpov Comments on 'Explosion'

PM0208104588 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 2 Aug 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report "for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA": "Explosion at Saryozek: Practical Implementation of Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles"]

[Excerpt] Kazakh SSR—[Passage omitted] The events taking place in Saryozek have been commented on by V.P. Karpov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Administration for Problems of Arms Limitation and Disarmament.

"The first four OTR-22 missiles due for elimination under the provisions of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles were destroyed today. This took place in the presence of representatives of the public of various countries, who were able to observe the process of preparing and destroying these missiles by means of explosion. It is the first official act of missile destruction. Others will follow. All intermediate- and shorter-range missiles are to be destroyed over 3 years.

"What do we see as the significance of this first official act of destruction? We see it as laying the foundation for a process whose irreversibility must be guaranteed not only by the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles but by the Soviet-U.S. treaty to halve strategic offensive arms currently being drafted. If a treaty to halve armaments is concluded soon, it will mark yet another major breakthrough in reducing the nuclear threat to mankind.

"Experience in eliminating intermediate- and shorter-range missiles should facilitate the drafting of provisions on the reduction of strategic offensive armaments. We regard the successful implementation of the provisions of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles as a guarantee of the successful solution of the problems of strategic offensive arms."

Military Officers Comment on Site Inspections

PM0108141388 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 Jul 88 First Edition p 3

[Interview with Colonel Vladimir Nikolayevich Bitskiy and Lieutenant Colonel Anatoliy Aleksandrovich Murashchenkov by correspondent Colonel A. Belousov under the rubric "Treaty on Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles in Action": "With Inspector's Mandate"; date and place not given—first paragraph is KRASNAYA ZVEZDA introduction]

[Text] KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has already described how servicemen are preparing to destroy missiles in accordance with the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. The actual process of the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, launchers, and auxiliary equipment will begin in the very near future. We will publish items on the progress of their elimination and the implementation of monitoring the observance of the provisions of the treaty under the rubric "Treaty on Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles in Action." Today we offer for our readers' attention a talk between our correspondent and Colonel Vladimir Nikolayevich Bitskiy, who accompanied the U.S. inspectors in our country, and Lieutenant Colonel Anatoliy Aleksandrovich Murashchenkov, who took part in the inspection of establishments on U.S. territory.

[Belousov] First a question for you, Anatoliy Aleksandrovich. You were among the first Soviet inspectors to travel across the ocean on such a responsible mission. What were your impressions?

A. Murashchenkov: I have already visited the United States twice. The first time, in early July, the object of our inspection was the Dugway test range (Utah). It has been declared eliminated; that is, missile tests can no longer be carried out on it. We had to be convinced of this on the spot. After a 17 hour flight with a stopover in Khabarovsk, our Il-62M landed not far from San Francisco. We were given quarters at an Air Force base. Conditions were normal. Our escorts, it is true, advised us for our own safety not to go outside the territory which was guarded and patrolled. At 2100 local time we presented the Americans with a statement indicating the site of the inspection. Until then they had not known precisely which establishment we intended to inspect. At 0200 hours we flew to the Dugway testing range. It is an enormous salt desert surrounded by a mountain range. So there was room to spread ourselves...

Good business contacts had been established with the U.S. specialists after 1 and ½ to 2 hours of joint work, although some tension was initially felt. Perhaps we ourselves were partly to blame. For instance, I had never been abroad before and had never communicated with foreigners—how could I fail to be agitated? But it all worked out. Our U.S. escorts turned out to be sociable, well meaning people. As specialists they have an excellent knowledge of their business. They gave exhaustive explanations to all our questions.

[Belousov] But how do our escorts feel in their work with U.S. inspectors?

V. Bitskiy: No difficulties or misunderstandings of any kind arose here either. Of our officers A. Shilo, A. Kunavine, and N. Telichko, I have only one thing to say: They are responsible people! They know their business to perfection. Of course, it is sometimes a little difficult. After all, we are on an hour's standby. It does happen that you have finished work and arrived home and there is a call: "You must be at Sheremetyevo in an hour's time; an automobile has been sent..." And then, no more than 9 hours later, you must deliver the inspection group to the verification site. And that is with our distances! But several dozen establishments have already been inspected in our country and there have been no breakdowns.

[Belousov] Can an inspection be canceled?

V. Bitskiy: In principle, yes. But only if it cannot be held by reason of force majeure. For instance, because the weather is unsuitable for flying. But the total number of inspections to which the inspecting side is entitled is not reduced.

[Belousov] Vladimir Nikolayevich, at present, when the elimination of missiles has not yet begun, what is the point of the inspections which are being held?

V. Bitskiy: The updated figures for the number of missile means as of the date the treaty entered into force are being monitored. The inspectors may have another question: Have they been given the correct type of missile to survey? During the last inspection at the Kapustin Yar testing range, we encountered precisely this situation. Of several RSD-10 missiles the inspectors pinpointed one and made a written application: Dismantle it, they said, we want to measure the stages. What did that mean for our specialists? Within a limited time they had to take the missile from its container and disconnect the stages... Yet it was an operational [boyevaya] missile—without its nuclear charge device, but with fuel and inflammable elements... Such work had never been performed on a test range before. The precision of sappers was needed. Safety measures were, of course, observed and the inspectors were asked to move further away. No, they wanted to see everything with their own eyes. Colonel O. Ovchinnikov so organized the matter that the schedule was observed down to the minute. Then, when the measurements had been taken, the missile was driven to a combat field and blown up because it was dangerous to keep it in its dismantled form. That essentially is how the first elimination of an RSD-10 took place.

[Belousov] We will destroy a considerable proportion of our missiles by the explosion and launching method. But which method do the Americans prefer?

A. Murashchenkov: During our second trip we visited the Longhorn munitions plant in Texas, which the U.S. side has declared to be the site for the elimination of the Pershing-2 missiles. Combustion can be carried out at the plant. The missile stage is installed on a special stand (missile tests have been carried out on it previously) and is launched in the conventional procedure. But it cannot fly anywhere because it is firmly attached. If, for instance, a defect is discovered in the missile and it cannot be burned for this reason, it will be blown up.

[Belousov] Did you survey the entire plant?

A. Murashchenkov: No. We were shown only that part of the territory defined as the site for elimination.

[Belousov] How were matters with regard to communications, transport, and catering?

A. Murashchenkov: Everything was organized quite precisely.

V. Bitskiy: We did have problems with catering. For instance, Ukrainian borsch figured on the menu. But our guests did not order it. Our cooks were worried: Surely they had not made it badly? It turned out that no, it was simply that our guests had never tried it. And they did not know how much it contained of what. For them that

is very important. So now we have decided to write the name of the dish and its ingredients on the menu. I think our guests will be pleased and our cooks will not be distressed to no avail.

As a whole the experience of joint work shed light on our mutual interest in punctiliously fulfilling the treaty's provisions and ensuring that the complete elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range Soviet and U.S. missiles becomes a fait accompli.

Ulan-Ude Arrival of U.S. INF Inspectors Noted
LD2907234388 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 29 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Since 1 July U.S. experts have been inspecting military installations in our country in accordance with the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. Ulan-Ude airport has been working as an international airport for a month now. U.S. military transport aircraft land on the airfield's concrete strip. Ulan-Ude is one of the reception centers for the U.S. inspectors in the Soviet Union to carry out the verification and monitoring of fulfillment by the Soviet side of the adopted obligations. This time a group of inspectors has arrived here headed by Brigadier General Lodgeway, director of the On-Site Inspection Agency of the U.S. Department of Defense. The U.S. experts have carried out some 20 inspections via Ulan-Ude. At the beginning of August in Taldy-Kurgan Oblast, the first clusters of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles will be destroyed. [video shows shots of transport aircraft landing, group of men being greeted on tarmac]

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] To what extent are these obligations being fulfilled, that's the first question, and second, is an atmosphere of absolute trust between countries possible?

[Lodgeway, speaking in English with superimposed Russian translation] In my view, relations between the two countries were relatively difficult after the war, and I believe that there were various reasons for this. But I think, nonetheless, that relations remain difficult. Now, after the signing of the treaty to reduce intermediate- and shorter-range missiles the atmosphere between the two countries will gradually become normal. I do not think that after the signing of the treaty to reduce intermediate- and shorter-range missiles all matters relating to the security of our countries will be resolved, since this treaty makes provision for a small percentage reduction in the overall quantity of missiles. Nonetheless, I believe that this step will be an important landmark on the path of normalizing our relations and will lay the foundations for a reduction of nuclear weapons. [end recording]

Soviet INF Inspector Describes U.S. Visit
PM2907140288 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 30, 24 Jul 88 p 7

[Eduard Khamidulin report on interview with Colonel Aleksandr Kuznetsov: "Inspector. A New Job Created by the Soviet-American INF Treaty"; date and place not given]

[Text] Col. Aleksandr Kuznetsov, 44, is one of the 400 Soviet experts who will be inspecting US missile installations—on a temporary or permament basis—in accordance with the 1987 Soviet-US INF Treaty. Kuznetsov is a professional missileman. He graduated from the Serpukhov Higher Military Command Engineering School in 1968. For the last 20 years, not counting three years at Moscow's Military Academy, Kuznetsov has served in units equipped with ground-launched medium-range missiles. In March 1988 he was transferred to the Nuclear Risk-Reduction National Centre of the USSR (NC). The centre was set up after the treaty was signed in December 1987 during M. Gorbachev's visit to Washington.

Five Soviet inspection teams recently journeyed to the United States to check military facilities near San Francisco. Kuznetsov was one of the inspectors. We spoke to the colonel on his return.

The San Francisco detail was Kuznetsov's first trip abroad—let alone on such a responsible mission. Back in Moscow, he said he felt well though the flight had been exhausting. The flight on a special inspection jet from Moscow to San Francisco—with a stopover in Khabarovsk—took nearly 17 hours. Kuznetsov and his colleagues left Sheremetyevo Airport at noon Moscow time July 1 and landed on Travis Air Force Base, roughly 50 miles from San Francisco, at 7 p.m. local time the same day. The Americans gave them a grand welcome. A group from the American NC was waiting near the gangway—along with reporters, photographers and film crews.

Pre-Inspection [subhead]

After the welcome, the Soviet inspectors were taken to a hall where their personal belongings and containers with verification equipment underwent a strict customs examination. Containers were opened and the contents photographed. Then all the containers were closed, sealed and stored in a special room pending the inspection.

(Customs examinations are stipulated by the treaty. In Moscow, US equipment containers were also checked, personal belongings were not).

Customs at Travis took about three hours. Then the inspectors were taken in buses to the township. They were accommodated in two two-storey houses, something like a hotel with suites for four: an anteroom with soft furniture and colour TV, two bedrooms with two

beds in each, a kitchen, and a shared bath. Both houses were fenced in with orange poles and orange ropes tied to them. The barrier was patrolled at all hours. One could not leave the grounds without a chaperone—even to go to the township. "This is in the interests of your security," the Americans explained.

(According to the Soviet NC, US inspection groups are usually accommodated at the Hotel Ukraina, not far from the city centre. In their spare time they may go anywhere they liked unchaperoned. There is no "orange rope".)

On July 1 the American side was notified of the intention to conduct an inspection and of the time of arrival at the point of entry. Later the Soviet inspectors delivered a communication indicating the inspection site to the point of entry. This is done to give the side being inspected time to get ready—exactly which facility will be verified is not stated.

On July 2 at 11 p.m. local time, three Soviet inspection groups notified the Americans as to which site they had selected for verification. The rule of the treaty went into force: within nine hours the inspected side must take the inspection groups to the places of verification. This was fulfilled.

Verification [subhead]

A. Kuznetsov and his group verified the training site at Davis-Monthan Air Force Base in Arizona. They arrived the morning of July 3. Pre-verification procedures took about an hour. The Americans told the Soviets about the facility, its distinctions and security, and then handed over all the documents necessary for verification.

When asked about the nature of his work as an inspector, Kuznetsov was more reticent. "The treaty forbids one to disclose information obtained in the course of inspection. Our task is outlined in Paragraph 3 of Article XI of the treaty—to verify on the spot the number of missiles declared by the American side as of the date the treaty entered into force."

Under the treaty, the verifying side has the right to remain at the inspection site for at least 24 hours. If necessary, the inspectors may prolong their stay for another eight hours. But this extra time was not needed by Kuznetsov and his colleagues. They saw everything they wanted to see. The data the American side gave them corresponded to the actual situation.

(The Soviet NC confirmed the US side's strict observance of the treaty.)

Next, the inspection report was made up and signed by both sides in Russian and in English in duplicate. One copy was left with the Americans, the other was brought to Moscow. The Soviet inspectors returned home July 5.

Impressions [subhead]

Kuznetsov had never dealt with US servicemen before. In a less official situation the conversation would probably have been different. But under the circumstances everything was strictly regulated. Kuznetsov noted the Americans' respectful and businesslike attitude toward the Soviet inspectors. Both sides realized the importance of the treaty, and strictly observed its provisions. Vaguenesses and misunderstandings were quickly cleared up. Departing Travis, there was actually no customs examination though the Americans had originally wanted this.

...So, the first step has been taken. Inspectors of both sides have started to implement the treaty. We all—Soviet people and Americans, the people of other countries—want this unprecedented process of eliminating nuclear weapons to be a success. The first inspections have shown that both sides are ready to carry out the requirements of the INF Treaty.

Obukhov Briefs Press on Geneva Talks Progress

LD0208091788 Moscow in English to North America 2200 GMT 1 Aug 88

[Text] At the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space weapons, the Soviet delegation has over the last few weeks tabled a number of new proposals to conclude an agreement on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons. This was told to journalists in Geneva on Monday by the chief Soviet delegate Aleksey Obukhov. He expressed confidence that progress in the talks can be achieved shortly, if reciprocal efforts are made.

Nazarkin on Progress Toward Chemical Weapons Ban

PM0108160588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Aug 88 First Edition p 4

[Interview with Yu.K. Nazarkin, head of the Soviet delegation at the Disarmament Conference in Geneva, by own correspondent B. Dubrovin: "'To Realize Favorable Conditions,' Head of the Soviet Delegation at the Disarmament Conference Says"; date not given—first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] Geneva, Aug—The summer session of the Disarmament Conference is taking place in Geneva's Palais des Nations. PRAVDA correspondent B. Dubrovin asked Yu.K. Nazarkin, ambassador for special assignments and head of the Soviet delegation, to answer some questions.

[Dubrovin] The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference pointed out as one of the achievements of Soviet foreign policy the fact that the talks on chemical arms have been shifted to the practical plane. How do things now stand in this area?

[Nazarkin] The talks resumed comparatively recently—7 July. In point of fact, the entire round lies ahead. At the same time, important events have occurred in international life. Above all, the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting. I also have in mind the third UN General Assembly special session on disarmament. Questions of a chemical weapons ban occupied an important place both at the meeting of the top Soviet and U.S. leaders and at the session at the United Nations' New York headquarters. The joint top-level statement in Moscow emphasized the lasting urgency of concluding an effective convention on an all-embracing, truly global ban on chemical weapons subject to efficient verification and covering all states that are capable of having such weapons. We sense here in practice the stimulating impact of that statement. Thus, the Geneva talks have resumed under very favorable political conditions. It is important now to realize these conditions and to translate them into the language of specific accords on those questions that still remain unresolved. This is all the more important because the priority nature of this task was confirmed at the Warsaw conference of the Warsaw Pact states' Political Consultative Committee.

Among the things on which agreement has not yet been reached at the Geneva forum I would name, above all, the problem of excluding the production of chemical weapons in commercial industry. It is a complex problem if only because it requires the creation of a setup which will be effective from the viewpoint of preventing the creation [sozdaniye] of chemical weapons and which will not, at the same time, hinder the normal development of peaceful sectors of the chemical industry. But the chief thing is the political aspect of this question: Here we have to deal with different forms of ownership—private and state. In other words, this is a sphere in which differences in states' social systems have a direct impact.

There is still no agreement on the procedure for destroying stocks of chemical weapons and the enterprises which produce them. In elaborating this procedure it is important to carefully observe the principle of not harming the states' security.

And, finally, some aspects of verification still remain. The procedures for conducting inspections on demand are being formulated here.

[Dubrovin] Mention was made at the 19th party conference of certain miscalculations in our foreign policy, as a result of which we let ourselves be drawn into the arms race. Does this apply to the sphere of chemical weapons?

[Nazarkin] Yes. The arms race spread to this sphere as well. And here, too, resolute actions were required of our side to overcome many stereotypes which fettered our potential. We have ceased producing chemical weapons, had recourse to considerable openness in associated issues, and managed to resolve many complex questions which were slowing down the progress of the talks, particularly in the sphere of verification.

[Dubrovin] But is it really possible to claim that the race in the sphere of chemical arms has ended after the United States quite recently began production of binary arms?

[Nazarkin] That is not what I am claiming. I am only saying that our side has taken decisive actions to put an end to this race. In addition to the production of binary weapons in the United States, there have also been reports that some other countries are manufacturing or preparing to manufacture chemical weapons. Reports on the use of chemical weapons and, what is more, on a massive scale entailing large numbers of casualties among the civilian population are a source of great concern. In our view, in order to put an end to this very dangerous development of events, the most radical, direct course of action is to do our utmost to speed up the conclusion of a convention on totally and comprehensively banning chemical weapons. It goes without saying that such a convention must embrace all types of chemical weapons, including binary weapons.

[Dubrovin] In the recess between rounds of the multilateral talks on banning chemical weapons, Soviet and British delegations visited military chemical bases at Porton Down and Shikhany respectively. Having visited both installations, what is your opinion of this? What impact has it had on the multilateral talks, which have now resumed? And in general, what is your view of the significance of this kind of bilateral exchange?

[Nazarkin] If the talks are to be successful, then it is very important that mutual trust between the participants develop and strengthen. The visits to the military chemical installations you mentioned are one way of strengthening this trust. After all, when the British delegation visited Shikhany, the doors of every depot, laboratory, bunker, and so forth were open to it. What was the point of doing this? First and foremost, to ensure that our guests could see for themselves that we, the Soviet Union, have really made the political decision to ban chemical weapons. I must also say that when we visited Porton Down the British side was completely open and showed us everything we wanted to see. This general aspect—building trust—is unquestionably very important.

I can also say that, as a direct participant in the talks, it was exceptionally useful for me to be able to see with my own eyes what we intend to ban, for example. I will also give you this example: During the British delegation's visit to Shikhany, it was basically given the opportunity to carry out inspections on demand; that is, it was able to visit any point within the confines of the installation—and it covers quite a large area if you include the test sites, depots, laboratories, various auxiliary units, and so forth. Some interesting questions arose, and these, of course, must be considered during the talks.

[Dubrovin] When, in your opinion, will the convention be concluded?

[Nazarkin] The Soviet side has expressed willingness to conclude the convention this year. This has also been said by official representatives of a number of other states, and by H.-D. Genscher, FRG vice chancellor and foreign minister, in particular. But the process of the talks is not moving smoothly—there are shoals and reefs. Forty states are taking part in the talks and unfortunately not all of them are inclined to speed up the process of concluding a convention. They cite technical difficulties which must be resolved at the talks and internal political factors. Of course, all this must be taken into account but, at the same time, the delaying of the talks cannot be justified by these factors. I repeat—our desire for the earliest possible conclusion of a convention remains unchanged.

U.S. Intentions To Increase SLCM's Viewed

LD3107165988 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in English 1400 GMT 31 Jul 88

[Text] The Soviet Union is rebuilding its foreign policy and in the past 3 years great positive changes have taken place in it. Humanity, says the Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, have got much evidence of our determination to persistently translate into life the program of a stage-by-stage elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000, to carry into effect the ideas of creating a universal security system, a common European home, defense sufficiency and nonaggressive defense, of the settlement of regional conflicts, the withdrawal of troops from the bases on other people's territories and the like.

Eduard Shevardnadze stresses the need to direct efforts to ensuring international security for political interaction of states. This is a very important provision. It should be mentioned that such interactions have already been manifested by the signing of the Soviet-American treaty on scrapping nuclear missiles of two classes. But how are (?the events) developing further? The U.S. secretary of defense, Frank Carlucci, declares that at the talks on nuclear and space arms the United States cannot sacrifice the systems required for ensuring stable restraints, specifically such as sea-based cruise missiles, only for the sake of cutting down or control.

The question arises how can one in such a case imagine a future treaty on a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons? It follows from the American mass media that the Pentagon intends to deploy the Tomahawk missiles at more than 100 submarines, including about 800 nuclear ones. They cannot be excluded from the nuclear equilibrium. To preserve parity, the other side would have to counterbalance these missiles and not necessarily in a mirror way, and it is clear that no reduction of strategic offensive weapons is possible in this case.

We are aware of the American official statements; that is, if the Soviet Union does not give up its demands to limit cruise sea-based missiles the treaty may not take place. How can one assess such statements? As a means for exerting pressure on the Soviet Union, or perhaps as a preparation of a stronghold for regarding the talks for the period of the change of power in Washington? In any case all this cannot be called goodwill or political interaction. Moreover, there is a certain tradition in this United States stand in relation to all sea-based armaments. It is based on the prerequisite that the United States is a naval power and the Soviet Union is allegedly a ground one. That is why if it comes to arms limitation on sea they must be asymmetric; the Soviet Union must reduce more despite the fact that the supremacy in these arms is on the United States side. Needless to stress that such peculiar logic of the Americans is absolutely unacceptable. Needless to prove that the Soviet Union is a great naval power washed by waters of many seas of three oceans. It is enough to look at the map to become convinced of that, and the length of our sea borders is perhaps bigger than that of the United States.

It is also noteworthy that there are large stockpiles of nuclear bombs at American aircraft carriers, and the range of action of nuclear capable aircraft based on them is up to 3,300 km. The total number of nuclear capable craft on all U.S. strike aircraft carriers is nearing 600. These are verified data and they testify to the United States' unilateral superiority.

What conclusion can be drawn? It seems Mr Carlucci hopes to obtain at the Geneva talks an additional opportunity to build up the strategic superiority the United States already has. But can that promote deepening the positive tendencies in world politics? Certainly not. Neither will the strategic situation be stabilized if the agreement on cutting down strategic offensive weapons by 50 percent does not cover all types of strategic weapons.

The world public are coming out for further advances on the road of disarmament and scrapping nuclear weapons. The road to this objective must be straight.

FRG 'Expert' Comments on European Arms Cuts

LD3007110788 Moscow TASS in English 1019 GMT 30 Jul 88

[Text] Bonn July 30 TASS—Karsten Voigt, foreign policy expert of the SPD floor in Bundestag, has described the proposals of the Warsaw Treaty member-countries on the reduction of military potentials in Europe as an important contribution to disarmament.

Speaking with TASS correspondent Nikolay Kalintsev, he said that a big step forward towards the West helping to draw closer the positions of both sides was made in Warsaw. The more inexplicable is the reaction of the NATO leaders and Western countries as a whole to these fresh initiatives. After the statements on an "attentive

study of the signals from the East" no proposals that could be considered satisfactory came from Brussels and the other capitals of the NATO member-countries, the expert noted. On the contrary, numerous statements were made that an asymmetrical reduction should concern only the Soviet armed forces, in the first place tanks and artillery. At the same time the types of weapons, in which the West has a superiority, in particular the aviation and the Navy, were put outside such reductions. This approach to the problem of building stability in Europe which is the wish of all Europeans, is unrealistic.

Karsten Voigt has rejected the claims by the Western politicians, including in the FRG, to the effect that the NATO bloc has no potential for launching a surprise attack since it, allegedly, does not have the corresponding weapons. The air and sea based systems at the disposal of the North-Atlantic alliance, he said, can be used for launching such a strike deep into the rear of the Warsaw Treaty countries. In the present-day conditions one cannot build one's own security at the expense of the others, the more so in populous Europe. The West should also display a comprehensive approach to the problem of European disarmament considering not only the quantitative, but also the qualitative criteria of the combat readiness and combat potential of the troops.

Notwithstanding the present-day difficulties, the MP said, I am optimistic about the possibility to start this year talks on mutual cuts in the forces and conventional weapons in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. Given the goodwill of both, I will stress it again, of both sides, it is possible to get agreement at Vienna including as regards preparing a mandate for the above-said talks.

'Studio 9' Discusses Disarmament, Glasnost

OW3007103188 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0600 GMT 30 Jul 88

["Studio 9" program, presented by Professor Valentin Sergeyevich Zorin, political observer of Soviet television and radio; Vladimir Fedorovich Petrovskiy, doctor of historical sciences and USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs; and Vitaliy Vladimirovich Zhurkin, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and director of the Institute for European Affairs of the USSR Academy of Sciences]

[Text] [Zorin] Hello, comrades. Our talk today in "Studio 9" at the Ostankino Television Center is taking place in unusual times—during the time of serious political reevaluations stimulated by the 19th all-union party conference. These reevaluations and the revision of many previous tired approaches and concepts is taking place not only in our country's domestic policies but also in its foreign policies.

I think the time has now come for us to take a look at the restructuring process taking place in our foreign policy. Let us admit that for a long period political observers limited themselves to commenting on events or actions currently taking place and decisions that had already been formulated. This, of course, is still necessary and useful, and we will continue to pay attention to it. However, stemming from the spirit and the decisions of the 19th party conference, this alone is clearly no longer enough.

The conference calls for creative discussion of topical international problems—and, moreover, not just after decisions on these problems have been made or after the foreign political steps have been implemented, but also during the preparation, thought, and discussion processes. The conference also calls on us to put forward various options for the solution of certain international problems and to discuss these questions. It is precisely during these discussions that the optimum political solutions may be found. Specialists, diplomats, and scientists, as well as international journalists, should all participate in these discussions. Thus, our program is more than an adequate forum for such discussions.

I feel that this is particularly appropriate for us because it is precisely in the area of foreign policy that the results of restructuring can already be observed. Much has been achieved in this area. The international situation of our country has, in recent years, changed quite significantly. The international community's perception of our country has also changed. Naturally, this process must continue.

So that we might have a businesslike and creative discussion today, we have invited into our studio a prominent Soviet diplomat, Vladimir Fedorovich Petrovskiy, doctor of historical sciences and USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, and the famous Soviet scientist, Vitaliy Vladimirovich Zhurkin, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and director of the Institute for European Affairs of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

The most important statement of the 19th party conference was the statement on decreasing the threat of war—a threat which in the recent past has been real and which has hung over all of us. This is a very serious statement, and it rests on scientific analysis of contemporary world realities.

Many of your letters to us at "Studio 9" contain questions about the future of this process. Has this threat of war been reduced as much as it is going to be reduced, or are there prospects for further reducing it? At this point I wish to ask you, Vladimir Fedorovich, what do you think about this situation in the foreseeable future?

[Petrovskiy] Indeed, the threat of war, at this stage, has decreased. This can be observed in practical matters. The pendulum has now swung, at all international forums and meetings, from confrontation to cooperation. We see this in the way that Soviet-U.S. relations have improved, in the way the intra-European dialogue is developing, and in the way the situation is developing in the Asian-Pacific Basin region.

However, even though the threat of war has been put aside, it should not be assumed that it has been eliminated. The threat of war does exist and we feel that we should not close our eyes to reality—that imperialist militarists constitute a threat to peace and that the possibilities that this threat could increase still exist. But you have justifiably asked about the future. My feeling is that there are quite realistic prospects for future progress in the process of decreasing the military threat.

The INF Treaty is today a reality. It is a unique treaty. Some self- criticism is in order here. In the past, we often spoke in terms of having a system of agreements in the area of disarmament.

In reality, however, the agreements concluded in the fifties and sixties did not deal with disarmament. They mainly dealt with limitation of the arms race...

[Zorin, interrupting] Establishing certain ceilings.

[Petrovskiy] Yes, ceilings and limits. Certain feasible channels were blocked, but disarmament as such, with the exception, possibly, of the convention banning new biological weapons... [changes thought] Now, however, a measure of actual disarmament is being implemented for the first time in history. Moreover, it is being done in the most vulnerable sphere, the nuclear sphere. Two classes of missiles are being physically destroyed and, at the same time, a thoroughly developed system of verification is being introduced in all forms: national, international, and on-site control. Second, an actual removal of

conflict and crisis situations has begun. The agreement on political settlement in Afghanistan is one directed at eliminating a very serious hotbed of tension.

These two agreements are important, and not merely by themselves. They promote processes to reach other agreements in the spheres of both disarmament and the settlement of conflict and crisis situations. What I now consider to be of primary importance is choosing the right priorities. This, by the way, was done at the Warsaw session of the Political Consultative Council. Four priority trends in the sphere of disarmament were clearly chosen there; that is, a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms, a nuclear test ban, the earlier conclusion of a convention banning chemical arms, and, finally, the start of talks on reducing conventional arms and armed forces in central Europe.

Second, I think it is very important to be persistent and efficient in achieving actual deeds in the sphere of these priorities. As the saying goes, water erodes rock. The real deeds may become reality if all existing potential, not only diplomatic, but also public opinion, is used.

[Zorin] Vladimir Fedorovich, you are speaking about obstacles on this path. They are indeed there. It is clear that there are certain people and circles on the other side who set up obstacles. But I have a question: Do we try all possible ways? Do we agree to discuss different versions of feasible actions? I would like to express a doubt about the full validity of our official line, which connects, in particular, the progress in disarmament in numerous directions with the problem of the SDI program. We very rigidly connect the possibility of progress with whether or not the United States implements SDI. This rigid connection, frankly speaking, causes certain doubts in my mind, because, even if the United States manages to create this system, this will be done somewhere in the next century, according to their own assessment. This is a remote prospect. On the other hand, for such a remote prospect, we are putting off the solution of problems which could soon be solved. A lot of water will flow under the bridge before the start of next century. Is it necessary to tie oneself so rigidly? I am not sure.

There is another thing. Most prominent specialists, both in the United States and in many other countries, question the reality of the creation of this system. Scientists say it is simply not possible to create SDI, given the present level of scientific knowledge and technology.

Third, practice shows that this system costs an enormous amount, and the U.S. economy clearly cannot manage this heavy military expenditure. This, too, thus makes the project's future suspect. It is not known if they can even begin to seriously implement it.

Generally speaking, I shall allow myself to offer the following thought, or rather, doubt: I am far from certain that the SDI program will live longer than the Reagan Presidency. This is his favorite child. However, I am far from certain that, no matter who succeeds him, be it Bush or Dukakis, he would preserve this system, or at least as the present leadership in Washington perceives it. Meanwhile, we conduct our policies as if this is already a proven fact. So we say—if there is SDI, we will not take these steps, and if there is no SDI, we will. This rigidity makes me wonder, and since we have agreed to examine different views, I allowed myself to voice these doubts.

[Petrovskiy] Valentin Sergeyevich, since you have been so candid, allow me to answer you with equal frankness. I totally disagree with you. In the first place, I don't agree that we are inflexible, or that the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space arms limitations are tied to SDI. We have stated on many occasions, and this is well known to our partners at the talks, that we have not included the SDI program in the talks. We are not holding any talks regarding the SDI program. Each side has its own military program, and how effective these programs are is left to specialists and to those involved in these matters. We are discussing something quite different with the Americans in Geneva. We have put forward the question of the present need for a radical reduction in strategic offensive weapons, or figuratively speaking, to break the trident in half. But, for this to happen, we must first be sure that strategic stability is preserved. This, in turn, presupposes adherence to the 1972 ABM Treaty, in all of the points agreed to at the time of signing. The essence of this treaty, as you no doubt know, is to prevent the spread of arms into space, so that, after there has been a significant decrease in arms in one field, measures will not be taken in other fields to compensate for these reductions. This is a logical position to adopt, and we have again, at the summit meeting in Moscow, reiterated our interest in reaching an agreement on a 50-percent reduction of strategic weapons as quickly as possible.

At the same time, we seek a concurrence that the 1972 ABM agreement will be adhered to, and further, that the agreement will respected for the agreed-upon period. Thus, as far as SDI is concerned, nothing is being said about it at the talks.

[Zhurkin] I think we have digressed from a most important question raised earlier which concerns all Soviet people and should also concern us. That is, what is the war-threat situation? This is a recurring question. On this matter I shall allow myself not to agree with either of you. I believe that for some time now, perhaps for a decade or two, all of us, that is you, me, political commentators, scientists, as well as the military press, did our bit to overstate the threat of war against the Soviet Union. We have overstated this to such an extent that, at times, apocalyptic thoughts abounded on the pages of our press. This took place at a time when a rationally organized nuclear attack on the Soviet Union was impossible because a retaliatory response would have followed. This is taking place at the time when we should be soberly evaluating the political and moral

situation in the West. When contemporary Western political and civilian society is simply unable to... [changes thought] ...years, many years are needed to prepare the moral, political, and even in some aspects military readiness for such an attack, for a repeat of 22 June 1941. [the date of Nazi Germany's attack on Russia] This is just one aspect. By the way, I also feel that SDI, from the very start, from the time it was outlined in President Reagan's speech of 23 March 1983, has been grossly overestimated by us. You know, it often occurs to me: What if Reagan did not make this speech? What if the Americans merely went on with their research, say in the area of space defense? Would this whole gigantic campaign against SDI, which at times has exceeded the bounds of reason, have been launched? They would have us believe that our food reserves, not to mention airfields, would be attacked from space. Perhaps this response can be attributed to emotional overreaction, but I feel that even rational emotional reaction was grossly exaggerated.

Our history, Valentin Sergeyevich, justifies this. Certainly, all of us remember, and will continue to remember, June 1941. Nevertheless, threats must be evaluated rationally.

[Petrovskiy] I would like to make an observation. What you have said about the rational evaluation of threats is probably correct. But rational evaluation of a threat is predicated on a package approach and a package analysis. Vitaliy Vladimirovich, I feel that you have approached it from one side only, from the side of a conscious initiation of a nuclear war. Certainly, there are certain serious obstacles to this aspect, although one should not completely discard the possibility of certain imperialist-military circles consciously starting a nuclear war. However, there is another aspect of the story which is becoming increasingly more apparent as technology develops...

[Zorin, interrupting] You are referring to the Chekhov gun law?

[Petrovskiy] Yes. If you see a gun hanging on a wall in the first act of a play, you can be sure it will be discharged sometime in act three.

We have our own, tragic experience with Chernobyl. It has showed us that no one is immune from technical mishaps. It is precisely because of this that while nuclear weapons exist, there is a threat of them being used. It is precisely because of this that we are so persistent in our attempts to achieve the total elimination of nuclear weapons in this century.

[Zhurkin] Frankly, I would have reached a different conclusion on the basis of the Chernobyl experience. I feel that if we were to talk in terms of threats to our security, then the real threat is that we will fall behind in economic and scientific and technical areas, that perhaps, at the very least, we will slide off the main path of world progress in some specific areas of the economy, in science, and in technology. This, I feel, is the real threat.

[Zorin] I feel that the present work of the 19th conference has been directed precisely at preventing this threat from becoming a reality.

[Petrovskiy] I would add that they are not mutually exclusive. On the contrary, we can here, too, apply the package-system approach. Obviously, our economic capacity is of primary importance. In particular—as the international relations expert say—in our contemporary world, the parameters of state power are determined, first and foremost, by economic, scientific, and technical indicators.

[Zorin] First, I would like to note that even though you have said you disagree with me on the matter of SDI, everything you have said has, in effect, supported my statement. [addressing Zhurkin] Now, Vitaliy Vladimirovich, I would like to ask you the following question: The 19th party conference noted that we have not always made full use of political options in ensuring state security. We have first staked our fate on military measures, and as a result, we allowed ourselves to be drawn into the arms race—which is something that has no future and is incredibly expensive as well. My question is related to the following: In your opinion, have we, or have we not, completely corrected these miscalculations?

[Zhurkin] Well, Valentin Sergeyevich, I am sure the diagnosis has been absolutely correct. I fully support it. At the same time, I feel that the inertia of military technological reaction to the action of the other side continues. I will give you a couple of simple examples from the strategic arms area—that is, in the use of our main, our most powerful weapons. Take the following: the press, radio, and television have for many years exposed the Americans'—and I might add justifiably—preparing and recently, a year or so ago, deploying MX missiles equipped with 10 warheads. Not even a year has elapsed since we, too, deployed a similar missile, the one they call the SS-24. More than that, we came up with a mobile version of it. We exposed the Americans for making plans to deploy Midgetman missiles, which are mobile single-warhead missiles. Perhaps, just perhaps, they will be able to deploy them by 1992. But do forgive me for saying this: This missile is very similar to the one we have already begun deploying. According to official figures, we already have more than a hundred of them. Admittedly, there are some important differences. The Americans, if they do deploy the Midgetman, will be infringing upon the SALT-II agreement because this will be a new missile for them. But our moral countenance, in this regard, remains unsullied. That is because the Soviet Union modernized an old missile, and thereby avoided breaking the agreement.

[Zorin] There is also the difference that the one missile is theirs, while the other is ours.

[Petrovskiy] That, I am afraid, is the old way of thinking.

[Zhurkin] Comrades, let us return to the arms race. One hundred missiles have been deployed.

Some 100 missiles have been installed. One can argue whether or not mobile missiles add to stability. But the spontaneous, reflexive reaction is still present. Would not the story of the RSD-10—or the SS-20 missile, if we use Western terminology—repeat itself if we were to manufacture lots of them? We kept manufacturing them and, when the talks started and agreement was concluded, everyone was astounded at how many of these missiles we had built. This is why I think the situation in this sphere still continues to be serious. The conclusion of the conference is accurate, and now the question lies in the active and persistent implementation of the decisions made.

[Petrovskiy] I would say that the present situation is, really, improving, but that this improved situation is not a singular [odnorazovyy] action. Permanent efforts are needed there; moreover, these approaches have left us with considerable political baggage. The fact that the rate of the arms race outruns the rate of talks cannot of course but cause concern. However, there is also another, very important side of this question. This is that at present, the Soviet Union has activated political mechanisms in all military and political domains. There is no single domain without political solutions we have proposed, without our proposal to act jointly with our partners on the basis of mutual agreement, on the basis of common sense.

[Zhurkin] Nevertheless, Vladimir Fedorovich, I think it would be good to support the political means actually being used with specific actions connected with a slowdown, and maybe even with a curtailment of the arms race in certain areas.

[Petrovskiy] Of course, these actions are important in principle. But in international politics, one should take into consideration the fact that the international arena is not a one-man show. It demands the participation of partners in these talks. By the way, we undertook those actions. Simultaneously with the birth of the new foreign political thinking, we undertook a very bold and important action in this respect. It was the moratorium on nuclear testing, the moratorium which was extended several times. I think that if these actions had been viewed as a good example, they could have considerably renewed and improved the situation in international relations.

[Zorin] Before asking you another question, Vladimir Fedorovich, I would like to draw the attention of our television viewers to a very significant detail. Vitaliy Vladimirovich Zhurkin gave the real name of our intermediate-range missiles that are now being destroyed—RSD-10's, although I am deeply convinced that the overwhelming majority of our viewers know them as SS-20's, as the Americans call these missiles. We used to conceal the name; it was a secret until recently. That was typical for a long time. Recall that our Soviet aircraft was called the Backfire at the talks, although in our country its name was quite different. I remember that while the late Dmitriy Fedorovich Ustinov was alive, I had a chance to ask him: Why do we use the American name and conceal our name? Why the Backfire? Would we harm our interests if we called it the AN-500? Dmitriy Fedorovich laughed and did not answer me, and that practice has continued until very recently. Why did I recall this instance? Because it is connected with the question I wish to ask you now, Vladimir Fedorovich.

Numerous faults or miscalculations of our past foreign policy—it has become quite obvious now—are connected with the fact that decisions were made in secret by small groups, and that there was a lack of glasnost in formulating and implementing foreign policy tasks. Well, it is clear that foreign policy is a specific sphere. It is not land reclamation, where everything can be discussed publicly. Nevertheless, considering the specificity of foreign policy, what do you, the deputy minister of foreign affairs, think: Is wide glasnost in the sphere of foreign policy a real, feasible matter, or not?

[Petrovskiy] I would put it this way: Glasnost in the sphere of foreign policy is not only feasible, but vitally important. A few days ago, we had a scientific and practical conference at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It concerned questions of foreign policy and diplomacy, and the application of the decisions of the party conference to the sphere of diplomatic activity. The question of increasing efficiency in foreign policy arose there rather acutely.

I think a kind of consensus was formed among the participants at the conference: that an efficient foreign policy presupposes the existence of several alternatives, several versions to chose from. This can be secured only through a plurality of opinion.

In this respect, I think a necessary conclusion follows from the decisions of the 19th party conference on the establishment of a constitutionally, legally powerful mechanism; on the need to introduce in our country a legislative procedure in accordance with which all departments having an outlet to the outside world should be under the control of an elective body; and that this should discuss all questions, from the plans of defense construction to the question of the use of force outside state borders. I also think it is important to develop a broad discussion in the press on the question of foreign policy, and to draw the public into this broad discussion. I believe our current discussion at this table is also an example of glasnost in foreign policy and diplomacy. I can assure you that, if our viewers express

a wish or proposal on questions of implementing the course of foreign policy or the activity of diplomatic bodies, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs will study all these proposals and wishes most attentively.

I would also like to note that there is another side of glasnost. We in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs pay great attention to this as well. This keeps the public informed about the activity of the foreign policy department, and not only about important political actions, either. For example, in our magazine, THE BULLETIN OF THE USSR MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, we introduced a column on the activity of the Collegium of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It discusses our internal...

[Zorin, interrupting] Is this magazine available?

[Petrovskiy] This magazine is available. One can easily buy it at Soyuzpechat. Moreover, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in now closely engaged in the activity of the magazine MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN. Its editor-in-chief is a member of the collegium of the ministry. We are looking into making this magazine a forum for discussing questions of foreign policy.

[Zhurkin] At the start of our discussion, Vladimir Fedorovich quoted a saying: "Water erodes stone." I wrote it down. I am concerned that—on questions of glasnost in foreign policy and, in particular, on military and political questions—we should not proceed from this principle. This is because this stone has become so hard and so set, and has acquired such poor traditions, that water alone could not erode it. It needs a high-pressure hose to erode it. In this connection, I recall a case which I consider to be rather eloquent. The majority of the Soviet people probably do not know that the famous SALT-I Treaty was not published in full in the Soviet Union in 1972. It consisted, if I remember correctly, of six documents; three were published and three were not. In terms of pages, about 25 percent was not published, although it was immediately published all over the world and everyone knew everything about it. However, it was concealed from the Soviet people. As for the 1979 SALT-II Treaty, only 35-40 percent of it was published, apparently due to the strengthening of stagnation. More than half of it was not available in scientific or public circulation in the Soviet Union.

[Zorin] This is while they knew about it all over the world.

[Zhurkin] Yes, while they knew about it all over the world. I should say that I am bringing this up not only as a negative example, but also as a positive one. Because our Ministry of Foreign Affairs published all these documents last year without much ado, but with a large number of copies, this also was one of the elements in the new political thinking. As a criticism, I should mention that one little document was not published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; that is, the declaration on the Backfire in which Brezhnev promised Carter that the Soviet Union would not build any more than 30 of these aircraft. This mistake, or fault, has already been corrected, for a very interesting new international yearly magazine, one published by the World Economics and International Relations Institute, has printed this declaration, too.

What I am leading up to is this: We do, unfortunately, have this old tradition—moreover, even for the simplest of things. For example, we are presently discussing and are doing a great deal to make our approach, our relations with the world, more civilized. At the same time, on occasion we fail to do the simplest of things. For example, we do not make public the numerical strength of our armed forces. The civilized world is demanding this. The West says that we do not publish these figures because we have the largest armed forces in the world. They say that some 5 years ago, China had the largest number of men under arms, but that after they reduced their armed forces by a million, we took over first place. Either we must admit this is true and explain this phenomenon, or we should reject these charges and prove their falsity. So, we still have these blind spots or taboos. Besides, many of these problems are easily solved. Therefore, I feel that the question just raised on glasnost in regard to information, so as to put an end to the super-secretiveness which has been so much a part of us—this question, I believe, is very important.

[Petrovskiy] I feel that in this matter, we have inherited our greatest burden both from the era of the personality cult and from the period of stagnation. It should be said, though, that our revolution was born under the banner of glasnost. Lenin, when announcing the peace decree, spoke out in favor of open diplomacy and for the publication of all documents. I think that the formation of a state in which socialist law prevails—as was discussed at the 19th party conference—should help in overcoming the legal nihilism which formed in our consciousness. With the formation of a state in which socialist law prevails, all these questions concerning glasnost should be increasingly resolved. In this I think I will agree with you, although the present fashion is for greater debate. On this occasion I agree with you that perhaps in this case one should not wait for the water to erode the rock, but should rather actively and broadly approach the questions of glasnost.

[Zorin] Thank you. Since we are today critically studying the things that have happened, it is right that we have concentrated on shortcomings because we used to sing praises about our successes, which were real and about which much is known.

One of the miscalculations in our foreign policies in years gone by was what I would describe as the extraordinary focus on the United States. In general, we thought that talks should only be held with the United States. Europe was set aside, as were other regions. This one-sidedness cannot be denied. It should be said that in recent years, this has been clearly rectified. We came up with

serious initiatives with regard to Europe, northern Europe, as well as the Far East. Perhaps I am wrong, Vladimir Fedorovich, but I am getting the impression that recently, very recently, symptoms of a return to the old imbalance have yet again recurred. We are again focusing our main attention on the United States. Is this the case?

[Petrovskiy] I cannot agree with you on this matter either, Valentin Sergeyevich. Certainly, such an impression may be created. True, much is being said in the newspapers, on television, and in diplomacy about Soviet-U.S. relations. This, however, is perhaps the reality of the contemporary world—the real position of the Soviet Union and the United States in the system of international relations. In order to start the disarmament process, as well as the processes of eliminating conflict and crises situations, intensive dialogue with the United States is necessary. That is why over the past 3 years, four summit meetings have taken place. Some 30 meetings took place between Comrade Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign affairs, and Shultz, U.S. secretary of state.

These meetings were not just talks for the sake of talk but, as we have previously said, they led to practical results. But at the same time—and this is the qualitative difference in our present approach from that of past years—we are developing dialogue and are conducting intensive discussions with both West European states and with the states of the Asia-Pacific region. Under present conditions, we do favor strengthening the bilateral process with a multilateral process. Recently, the special UN General Assembly session on the question of disarmament was completed. There, the Soviet Union highlighted the need to complement the bilateral Soviet-U.S. dialogue with multifaceted efforts in the area of disarmament and to bring into play all available mechanisms to limit the arms race. We feel that the Geneva conference on disarmament—a unique forum—must also begin to pay dividends. Take a look. At this multilateral forum, intensive work is now taking place to work out conventions for banning chemical weapons. In other words, in the realm of practical policies, we presently proceed from the point of view of constructive parallelism—the bilateral process of disarmament and the solving of other international questions, and multilateral relations.

[Zorin] What will the director of the Institute for European Affairs have to say on this matter?

[Zhurkin] I do not think I can agree with you, Vladimir Fedorovich. Because the USSR is a great power—one of the two most powerful military and economic nations on earth—it certainly is developing its relations in all directions; that is, both bilateral and multilateral relations including Asia, the Pacific region, the United States, and Europe. But here we are discussing priorities or imbalances, or even nuances, that at times became apparent. In this sense, I feel there were instances in our recent history when these leanings towards the United States did take place. Or, if you wish, let me approach the situation from the other end, from the side of Europe. There were times when we failed to demonstrate sufficient activity toward Europe. Moreover, when we speak of major talks—and since we are taking about Europe, then we certainly ought to discuss reducing conventional arms and armed forces, for these talks are of vital importance—the question arises: How far is our country prepared to go in this interaction with the other the side, with the West? When I speak of our side, I mean the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact countries. As for the Americans, we have demonstrated this readiness to go far, and we have succeeded in seeing the Americans actively meet us half way. Sometimes I feel uneasy after we have put forward a number of initiatives—and let's face it, these initiatives are revolutionary because, if we were to take the Warsaw Political Consultative Committee statement, then the proposals made there on the questions of verification and arms levels are truly revolutionary. At the same time, taking into consideration that the West, NATO, is not reacting particularly actively, and that at times it is simply taking no steps whatsoever in our direction, then can't the following happen? That is that we will merely continue to take comfort in the moral side of the cause. Certainly, the world recognizes that NATO is passive while our side is active. Let us assume that the matter in Vienna will progress to the stage of adopting a mandate. This is the most likely outcome. Are we not entering a period of lengthy negotiations which may last for years?

[Zorin] What do you mean enter? We are already in it. Fruitless discussions in Vienna have been going on for 14 years.

[Zhurkin] Valentin Sergeyevich. Let us conditionally dub these talks the old type.

[Petrovskiy] Meaning as belonging to the period of stagnation?

[Zhurkin] Yes, pertaining to Central Europe. Naturally, we will now seek something new and dynamic. With this in mind, I feel there is an alternative path which differs from the one we are traveling, even though our current path is perfectly just, reasonable, well thought out, and interesting. I think that one should think more daringly about more decisive initiatives in this sphere. For example, Europe is particularly concerned with our side's vast superiority in tanks. This is but one of the imbalances which exist in Europe. Why can't we give some thought and then take some decisive measures and unilaterally begin eliminating some of these imbalances? Can we not take some courageous steps in the sphere of certain reductions, say in the number of armed forces we have abroad? What I am leading to is this: Within the style of the new thinking, it appears there is a need to think in terms of new, radical initiatives which would capture the

imagination of the people and the world public, as well as the political circles of other countries. I believe this is an alternative that deserves further thought.

[Petrovskiy] I think there is room in the arsenal of diplomatic resources for all kinds of action—bilateral, multilateral, and unilateral. However, unilateral actions can only be effective if they are perceived as policies of good examples and when they solicit a response from the other side. The same is true of the theater. No applause is heard when only one hand is clapping. I have already mentioned our nuclear moratorium. Certainly it played a large role. It attracted attention to the problem of nuclear test bans and elevated it to a priority level. It led to the start of discussions. However, its effect would have been much greater if the other side had also accepted this challenge and had acted accordingly.

[Zhurkin] Vladimir Fedorovich, the situation is no doubt very delicate. Undoubtedly, there is no argument here. But I still feel that the dynamism, energy, and uniqueness which our country has been displaying for the past 3 years in the development of our foreign policies and toward international events should not preclude courageous and perhaps unilateral steps.

[Zorin] Vitaliy Vladimirovich, you have spoken about the need for new initiatives in Europe. In connection with this, I wish to ask you a question: In recent years we have put forward many proposals, many foreign policy initiatives. I, at least, have the impression that far from all of these are fully developed. Some are just left hanging there while we come out with new initiatives. Does this bother you?

[Zhurkin] No, it does not. I think our country is now displaying consummate ease in the international arena, and that the international public's awareness of us is undergoing a positive change. In some places the changes are great, in others they are slight, while in some places even difficulties are observed. Nevertheless, complex and profound processes are taking place. As for this first stage, which I think has not yet ended although I will not risk guessing how long it will last, I personally feel that this active, even explosive diplomacy—if this term can be applied to political diplomacy—a type that examines and reexamines every problem in new terms, is necessary. This is even though the question of the need to transfer the quantity of our new initiatives into qualitative forms is likely to arise.

[Petrovskiy] I would add that political initiatives, like political ideas, have their own life and their own logic in being implemented into the awareness of both states and the masses. International relations developed a new agenda out of the recent initiatives put forward by the Soviet Union. On the basis of these initiatives, we conduct our talks. But we also understand there is a need to select priority directions and to concentrate one's efforts on those issues which have ripened and are ready to be resolved.

At the same time, I think it is very important to sow seeds for new ideas and new proposals. Let us take, for example, the third special disarmament session of the UN General Assembly. At it, we proposed three large-scale initiatives: the elimination of the foreign military presence by the year 2000; the reduction of naval forces and arms; and the establishment of an international monitoring body [kontrolnyy organ] for the implementation of agreements in the sphere of disarmament and conflict and crisis situations. Two of these initiatives received an immediate response and immediate support and approval: the reduction of naval arms and the establishment of the monitoring body. The initiative for eliminating the foreign military presence was received with a lesser response. Generally speaking, there is nothing surprising about this, because it was a very bold and a very new idea. It will take time for the seeds to sprout. Let this idea grow, and, meanwhile, we shall be striving for practical deeds, the way we did on the elimination of the two classes of missiles in Europe and the political settlement in Afghanistan. We shall act the same way in other spheres.

[Zorin] Well, in conclusion, I would like to ask the following question: The fact that the restructuring now under way in our country is reflected in the USSR's foreign policy in a most significant manner is recognized throughout the world. There is no argument about this. But let us look at things realistically and without euphoria. In this case, we shall see there are influential circles in the West, in our main partner-countries, which reckon that the matter lies not in deep changes, but in superficial and cosmetic ones. They say that the Soviet Union is being crafty in order to gain time to solve its internal needs, and that there are no grounds for speaking about radical changes and perestroyka in the sphere of foreign policy. Other doubts of this type are also expressed, and the world takes notice of these doubts. I would like, Vladimir Fedorovich, for you to express your opinion on this.

[Petrovskiy] There really is idle talk of this type in the West in connection with the analysis of our foreign policy and diplomacy. They even say that the actions of the Soviet Union are primarily aimed at attempts to appeal to public opinion in the West. I think, however, that there cannot be anything further from the truth than these declarations. We here know very well and understand that our restructuring is primarily determined by the needs of our internal development and the need for the revolutionary transformation of our society within the framework of the socialist choice made by the October Revolution. Simultaneously, while developing this process, we create new specimens and standards of democracy and self-management. I even recall being benevolently persuaded by an honorable professor at Harvard University to not go too far with democracy. What are you doing? How can you propose the election of enterprise managers by workers?

[Zhurkin] What do you propose, broad elections?

[Petrovskiy] Yes, broad elections. What can this lead to? We are creating our own standard, we can go our own way, which was determined by our internal development. All these things are reflected in foreign policy. It is not accidental that when we raise the question of restructuring in foreign policy, we say that, from the point of view of the main determining tendency of the contemporary era, one cannot say that the struggle between the two opposing systems is the determining trend—as we used to say before. Precisely by approaching this problem through, so to speak, the prism of internal policy, the interrelations between internal and foreign policies, and the understanding of the realities of the interdependent world, we proceed from the premise that at this stage the decisive significance is the ability, at an increased pace and based on the most advanced science and technology, to accumulate material well-being, to distribute this equitably, and to jointly restore and defend the resources that are vital to the survival of mankind. This is an in-depth process determined by our own interests and, I am convinced, one that entirely corresponds to the interests of the whole world community.

[Zorin] Thank you. Our time on the air is over. I think that in our upcoming programs we will return to the discussion of this problem. Now I must thank you for participating in this discussion, and also our viewers for their attention. Thank you. Until our next meeting in "Studio 9."

United States & Canada

Further Reportage on Carlucci Visit, Activities

TV Notes Arrival, Agenda

LD0108171288 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 1 Aug 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by correspondents Yu. Rostov, V. Gusev, and I. Bolotnikov]

[Text] [Correspondent] At the invitation of Army General Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, U.S. Defense Secretary Carlucci arrived on an official visit to Moscow today. The guests were met at the airport by Army General Yazov and other officials.

This is the third meeting between the defense ministers of both countries. Contacts began recently, in March, and to this very day reports about them are something of a sensation. A great many people had earlier found it difficult even to imagine the chiefs of the world's most powerful—and, unfortunately, opposing—military formations coming together. According to a U.S. tradition, U.S. defense secretaries are civilian officials. Frank Carlucci was a diplomat, a national security adviser to the President. He was also CIA deputy director. It is noted that he is sensitive to public opinion and is a master of compromise. Frank Carlucci told correspondents that the agenda of the talks would include issues of preventing dangerous military activities, expanding military contacts, and examining military doctrines. During the visit, the U.S. defense secretary will tour Soviet military facilities earlier regarded as secret.

[Begin Yazov recording] The program suggested by the U.S. side will be fulfilled completely. [end recording]

[Correspondent] A question was put to Frank Carlucci: Is that so? Were there no refusals?

His reply: There were no refusals. I am absolutely satisfied with the program. It provides for visits to an Air Force base, land forces base, and the main Black Sea Fleet base. [video shows U.S. airliner taxiing; group of four officers, one civilian and one Air Force officer approaching airliner past guard of honor; Carlucci, unidentified female and two males behind him descending plane's steps; handshake with Yazov; Yazov introducing Carlucci to some people from his retinue; ABC and NBC news cameras shown covering event; Carlucci shakes hands with officers who are lined up, proceeds to speak into microphone; Yazov seen speaking a few words into microphone; shots of Soviet and U.S. flags]

Immediately following the festive meeting at the airport, Carlucci visited the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at the Kremlin Wall. The U.S. defense secretary laid a wreath at the tomb of those who had laid down their lives in defense of common interests of the Soviet and American people alike. [video shows Carlucci flanked by two Soviet generals and followed by retinue, wreath being borne by two soldiers in front of him, Carlucci standing to attention]

Comments on Missile Destruction

LD0108151788 Moscow Tass International Service in Russian 1430 GMT 1 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow, 1 Aug (TASS)—Frank Carlucci, U.S. secretary of defense, arrived in Moscow today on an official visit. He was met at the airport by Dmitriy Yazov, USSR minister of defense, at whose invitation the U.S. official has come.

Responding to journalists' questions at the airport, Frank Carlucci noted that the summit meetings between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan have created favorable grounds for contacts between the defense ministers of the two countries.

The U.S. guest was asked what he thought of the liquidation in the USSR today of the first group of SS-12 missiles, destroyed under the INF Treaty. "I think that it is a magnificent event," he said. Talks between the Soviet and U.S. defense ministers began today.

The guest laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier by the Kremlin Wall.

In the afternoon, the U.S. secretary of defense visited the military academy of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, where the higher command personnel of the Soviet Army and Navy has been trained for more than 50 years. The guest visited the academy's training command post, computer classes [displeyniyy klassy], and lecture halls. Frank Carlucci also gave a lecture to teachers and students of the academy.

Meets With Yazov

LD0208090188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Aug 88 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "On Official Visit"]

[Text] U.S. Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci arrived in the Soviet Union 1 August on an official visit at the invitation of Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister.

The visitor and those accompanying him were met at Sheremetyevo Airport by Army General D.T. Yazov; Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev, USSR first deputy defense minister and chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff; Army General Ye.F. Ivanovskiy and Army General V.M. Shabanov, USSR deputy defense ministers; Army General K.A. Kochetov, commander of Moscow Military District; and other officials.

U.S. Ambassador to the USSR J. Matlock and Defense Attache U.S. Air Force Brigadier General E. Rokke were among the welcoming party.

The state flags of the United States and the Soviet Union were flying at the airport, an honor guard was lined up on the airfield, and the two countries' national anthems were performed.

At the conclusion of the official welcoming ceremony, Army Gen D.T. Yazov and F. Carlucci replied to questions from Soviet and foreign journalists.

A meeting between Army Gen D.T. Yazov and U.S. Secretary of Defense F. Carlucci was held at the USSR Ministry of Defense the same day. A number of questions of Soviet-U.S. relations in the military sphere and a package of international security problems were discussed during the conversation.

Taking part in the conversation were:

On the Soviet side: Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev, Army Gen V.M. Shabanov, and other officials;

On the U.S. side: U.S. Ambassador to the USSR J. Matlock and Assistant Secretaries of Defense R. Armitage, R. Lehman, and J.D. Howard.

Army Gen D.T. Yazov gave a luncheon in honor of F. Carlucci.

U.S. Secretary of Defense F. Carlucci laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier by the Kremlin Wall.

'Mutual Interest' Issues Discussed

LD0108162588 Moscow TASS in English 1622 GMT 1 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 1 TASS—General of the Army Dmitriy Yazov, defence minister of the USSR, met today with U.S. Secretary of Defence Frank Carlucci.

They discussed issues of mutual interest. The U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union, Jack Matlock, took part in the conversation.

Carlucci arrived in Moscow today for an official visit. A dinner was given in honour of the U.S. defence secretary.

Tours Academy With Akhromeyev

LD0108133788 Moscow TASS in English 1321 GMT 1 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 1 TASS—By TASS correspondent Mikhail Zakharchuk:

U.S. Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci, who arrived on an official visit in the Soviet Union today, visited in the afternoon the Kliment Voroshilov Military Academy of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, for 50 years a centre for training senior commanders of the Soviet Army and Navy. He was welcomed by Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev, chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the USSR, and Army General Grigoriy Salmanov, head of the academy.

The guest visited the training command post of the academy, class-rooms and auditoriums fitted with VDUs [video display units]. He was told that the academy, founded in 1926, prepared thousands of specialists, including Marshals of the Soviet Union Ivan Bagramyan, Aleksandr Vasilevskiy, Andrey Grechko and others. Their skill in guiding combat operations vividly manifested itself in the firece battles of the Second World War.

Graduates of the General Staff Academy currently hold command, staff and political posts in the USSR Defense Ministry, military districts, in the Navy and Army groups.

The academy pays much attention, Frank Carlucci was told, to teaching history of the art of war. The students study organisation, armament, military theories and concepts of the nature of methods of waging a war. It also organises refresher courses for generals and officers of the armies of socialist states, military leaders of the Armed Forces of the USSR and member countries of the Warsaw Treaty.

The Academy of the General Staff is a major military scientific centre. Research conducted at the academy covers all areas of development of the armed forces, the theory of their application at various theatres of war, in various combat situations. The main emphasis has been laid recently on enhancing the efficiency of theoretical, scientific and technical development, on conducting research into topical problems which have decisive significance for boosting the military power and combat preparedness of the armed forces.

U.S. Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci delivered a lecture to the faculty and students of the academy. He made an entry into the visitor's book.

Addresses General Staff Academy

LD0108182088 Moscow TASS in English 1759 GMT 1 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 1 TASS—U.S. Defence Secretary Frank Carlucci today visited the Academy of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces. He is in the USSR at the invitation of General of the Army Dmitriy Yazov, defence minister of the Soviet Union.

After inspecting educational facilities, the defence secretary took advantage of the opportunity to address the teaching staff and students of the academy.

"I expect in the next few days of discussions with Minister Yazov and in the other events on our agenda to add to my understanding of Soviet thinking on security issues, on relations with the U.S.—and to deepen as well my understanding of the Soviet system."

The secretary set out priorities and objectives of the American political system. He expressed the hope that representatives of the Soviet Armed Forces would have an opportunity to form their own impressions about the American system and the American people first-hand.

"I hope officers in the American military will have a similar opportunity in the USSR. The programme of military exchanges Marshal Akhromeyev and Admiral Crowe have developed is a promising start."

Sharing his impressions about the visit to the USSR, Carlucci pointed out that "a very significant process of change (is) taking place here."

"As secretary of defence, my most immediate interest is how this process might affect Soviet military power—both its capabilities, and in the ways those capabilities are put to use."

Carlucci expressed his opinion of the nature of the Soviet and American military doctrine. He defended the "Strategic Defence Initiative", saying it "does not represent the slightest threat to the USSR."

The secretary observed that the "way to advance the U.S.-Soviet dialogue is not to paper over our differences, but to face them squarely, search for common ground, and build on it."

He favoured, specifically, continuation of the work on the agreements that would establish stability at lower levels—in both nuclear and conventional forces.

Speaks of Visit Impressions

LD0208101488 Moscow TASS in English 0948 GMT 2 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 2 TASS—U.S. Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci has visited the Kubinka Air Garrison, near Moscow, on the second day of his stay in the Soviet Union.

On Monday Frank Carlucci held talks with Soviet Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov and laid a wreath to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at the Kremlin Wall. In the afternoon he went to the Academy of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, where senior officers of the Soviet Army and Navy have received training for more than 50 years. The guest examined the training command post of the academy and class-rooms. The U.S. defense secretary took advantage of an opportunity to speak before the faculty and students of the academy.

Speaking about his impressions from the stay in the Soviet Union, Carlucci pointed out that "a very significant process of change (is) taking place here."

"As secretary of defence, my most immediate interest is how this process might affect Soviet military power—both its capabilities, and in the ways those capabilities are put to use."

The American secretary noted that the way to advance the Soviet-U.S. dialogue was not to paper over differences, but to face them squarely, search for common ground and build on it. He spoke, in particular, for continuing work on the agreements that would establish stability at lower levels—in both nuclear and conventional forces.

The start of the visit of the U.S. defense secretary coincided with the elimination of the first batch of missiles in compliance with the Soviet-U.S. Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty. On Monday four SS-12 missiles were blown up at the Soviet test-range at Saryozek, watched by an inspection team from the USA, Soviet and foreign journalists.

In the evening the USSR defense minister gave a dinner in honour of Frank Carlucci.

Visits Kubinka Garrison 2 Aug

LD0208101988 Moscow TASS in English 1000 GMT 2 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 2 TASS—The second day of the stay in the Soviet Union of U.S. Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci started today with a visit to an Air Force garrison in Kubinka, the Moscow region.

It took him seven minutes to familiarize himself with a modern bomber. Apart from it, he saw the cockpit of a MiG-29 fighter plane.

Soviet pilots demonstrated to the honoured guest aerobatic evolutions both in individual and group flights. Colonel General Boris Korolkov, first deputy commander-in-chief of the Air force, played host to the U.S. defense secretary and acquainted him with the Air Force garrison and military hardware.

The Soviet Union attaches much importance to contacts between Soviet and American servicemen because their purpose is to improve mutual understanding on military aspects of Soviet-American relations and to promoting the solution of the most important problem of today—to prevent a nuclear war and to put an end to the arms race. Many officers of the garrison that Carlucci visited today told a TASS correspondent that half a year ago such an examination of Soviet military hardware by an American guest would have been unthinkable. It is obvious that Soviet-American relations are improving and contacts on all the levels are expanding.

Speaking Monday at the Academy of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces named after Kliment Voroshilov, Frank Carlucci said, among other things, that the Soviet Union and the U.S. should continue to improve mutual understanding on questions that evoke mutual concern through developing military contacts, as well as to go on with the drawing up of agreements that would set stability on lower levels in the sphere of both nuclear and conventional armaments.

The beginning of the visit of the U.S. defense secretary to the Soviet Union coincided in time with the elimination of the first batch of missiles within the framework of the Soviet-American INF Treaty. Four SS-12 missiles were blown up on Monday at a Soviet military test site in Saryozek in the presence of a U.S. inspection group.

Military Contacts Since World War II Cited

LD0108132588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Jul 88 First Edition p 5

[Article by Colonel V. Pogrebenkov under the rubric "From KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's Files": "USSR-United States: Military Contacts"]

[Text] Since World War II, military contacts between the USSR and the United States have developed extremely unevenly. Basically, they have reflected the relations which have taken shape between the USSR and the United States in the postwar period.

In 1956 U.S. Air Force Chief of Staff Twining visited the Soviet Union as guest of Marshal of the Soviet Union G.K. Zhukov, USSR defense minister.

In 1962 an exchange of visits took place between the commander in chief of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany and the commander of the U.S. Ground Forces, Europe.

From 1971 Soviet and U.S. naval delegations began to meet annually to discuss questions of averting incidents at sea and in the airspace over it.

In May 1972 John Warner, U.S. secretary of the Navy, visited the Soviet Union to sign the "Agreement Between the USSR and the United States To Avert Incidents at Sea and in the Airspace Over It."

In 1973 General Davison, commander of the U.S. Ground Forces, Europe, visited Army General Ye.F. Ivanovskiy, commander in chief of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany. Then the commander in chief of the Group of Soviet Forces in Europe made a reciprocal visit to the U.S. Ground Forces Europe headquarters based in the FRG.

In May 1975 the Soviet warships "Boykiy" and "Zhguchiy" went on an official visit to Boston and the U.S. warships "Leahy" and "Tattnall"—to Leningrad.

In 1977 Brigadier General Collins, chief of the U.S. Army military history department, visited the Soviet Union with a group of historians. Lieutenant General P.A. Zhilin, chief of the USSR Defense Ministry Institute of Military History, in return visited the United States in October 1978.

A delegation of U.S. combat training establishments led by Lieutenant General Gard, president of the National Defense University, was in our country in May 1977. A USSR Defense Ministry delegation of combat training establishments went on a reciprocal visit to the United States in the fall of that year. At the same time, there was an exchange of lecturers.

In the summer of 1979, Marshal of the Soviet Union D.F. Ustinov, USSR defense minister, and Marshal of the Soviet Union N.V. Ogarkov, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, were among the Soviet delegation at the summit meeting in Vienna. They had conversations with H. Brown, U.S. secretary of defense, and General D. Jones, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

On 9 December 1987, Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, who was among those in Washington accompanying M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, during his visit to the United States, met with U.S. Defense Secretary F. Carlucci, and on 10 December he met with Admiral W. Crowe, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff. He also met with the chiefs of staff of the Army, Navy, and Air Force, and also the commander of the Marine Corps. In addition to examining purely military problems, questions of the possible expansion of military contacts were also discussed during the conversation.

During Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev's official visit to the United States from 5 through 11 July, the plan of cultivating contacts between the USSR and U.S. Armed Forces for 1988 through 1990 was put into operation. Over these 2 and ½ years, reciprocal visits by military leaders are envisaged. Reciprocal visits of warships are also planned. Exchanges between delegations of military historians, medical workers, and sportsmen are envisaged. An accord has been reached on the work of the Soviet-U.S. group for averting dangerous military activity by the sides' armed forces with regard to each other.

In July E. Aldridge, U.S. secretary of the Air Force, came on an official visit to our country at the invitation of the USSR defense minister.

Meetings between the two countries' defense ministers deserve particular mention. This year there have already been two meetings between the defense ministers in the space of 5 months. The first meeting between Army General D.T. Yazov, USSR minister of defense, and U.S. Defense Secretary F. Carlucci took place in March

of this year in the Swiss city of Bern. Within the framework of the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Moscow, two separate conversations took place between the USSR and the U.S. defense ministers on 30 and 31 May 1988 respectively. U.S. Secretary of Defense F. Carlucci will visit the Soviet Union at the beginning of August 1988. Contacts are continuing.

Dukakis Leads Bush in Recent Gallup Poll
PM0100141988 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 29 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Shot Ahead"]

[Text] New York, 28 Jul—The popularity of Michael Dukakis, U.S. Democratic Party presidential candidate, rose markedly after the Democrats' national convention in Atlanta, Georgia, last week. According to the latest Gallup poll, 54 percent of Americans intend voting for Dukakis at the elections, while 37 percent intend voting for Vice President George Bush, who has virtually ensured his nomination as the Republican Party candidate.

Just prior to the Atlanta convention the ratio was 47 to 41. However, only 37 percent of the supporters of each presidential contender said they had made a firm and definitive choice.

Reader Deplores 'Malice' in Coverage of U.S.
PM0208104188 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 29 Jul 88 p 3

[Letter from reader A. Sukhonos: "Malice Is Unworthy of Us"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] I remember the first moonshot by U.S. astronauts. How it excited me, my comrades, and probably all Soviet people. It was wonderful to think that you were living through such an achievement for human reason. However, our then leaders clearly believed that this success for the American people would be bound to damage our system. Its greatness was belittled in every possible way: The press, television, and radio reported it as if it were an everyday event. We had to hear the report of man's first steps on the surface of the moon from American radio, and the broadcasts were strongly jammed. Yet people in the United States—as the Soviet press has repeatedly told us—were sincerely delighted about our first Sputnik, and about Gagarin's mission. That is how things were. Unfortunately, to a certain extent, that is the way they still are now. What is our aim in hushing up their successes and trumpeting their failures?

What thoughts and feelings am I supposed to have, for instance, when I read a central press report that a bus has overturned in their country killing five passengers? I think that the aim here is to persuade the reader that they are poor bosses and that such events are inherent in their system. Perhaps it would be convincing if such things did not happen in our country. But if one bears in mind that such reports often conceal something akin to malicious glee, we are placing ourselves in a doubly false position. The proper way to act would be not to grieve at their successes (if we cannot rejoice at them), and to sympathize with them in their troubles. In this way we would arrive at lasting and peaceful coexistence more quickly.

[Signed] A. Sukhonos, Dnepropetrovsk.

China

Yazov Greets Counterpart Qin Jiwei on Army Day
PM0108153688 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Aug 88 First Edition p 1

[Undated message from USSR Defense Minister Army General D. Yazov: "To PRC Defense Minister Comrade Qin Jiwei"]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Minister!

On the 61st anniversary of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, on behalf of the USSR Armed Forces, and on my own account I send sincere congratulations to you and to all Chinese servicemen.

D. Yazov

Army General

USSR Defense Minister

Amity Group Leader Interviewed on Visit
OW0108080788 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 26 Jul 88

[Excerpts] A delegation of the China-USSR Friendship Association led by Wu Xiuquan, a renowned Chinese political and social activist, has wound up its visit to the Soviet Union. Prior to his departure for home, Comrade Wu Xiuquan granted an interview to our station reporter. He said:

[Begin Wu Xiuquan recording] The Chinese-USSR Friendship Association delegation arrived in Moscow on 7 July at the invitation of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries and the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Comrade Wu Xiuquan had visited the Soviet Union before. He studied and worked in the Soviet Union from 1925 to 1930. Since the founding of the PRC, he has visited the country on many occasions. Therefore, he was able to compare the past and present situation in the Soviet Union. He noted:

[Begin Wu Xiuquan recording] After the founding of the PRC, I paid several brief visits to the Soviet Union. In the past half century, the country has undergone tremendous changes. On my most recent visit to Leningrad, we toured historical sites related to the October Revolution and the Great War of National Defense. They reminded us of the years of revolutionary war and aroused our admiration for the perseverance and revolutionary heroism of the Soviet people during the Anti-Fascist War. At present, the Soviet Union is carrying out comprehensive reform in various areas of national life. We have noticed the changes already occurring in the people's thinking and (?production). We visited a factory and university where the director and the president had been elected, and a farm which practiced overall economic accounting. We also attended, as spectators, the recent 19th all-union party conference whose resolutions are already being implemented. The Chinese people have watched with great interest the reform going on in the Soviet Union, and notice some of the difficulties it has encountered in reform. We hope and expect that the Soviet people will overcome their difficulties and win greater successes. Now, as we wind up our visit and depart for home, we are taking back the friendly feelings the Soviet people have for the Chinese people for the continuous development of Sino-Soviet friendship. [end recording]

Titarenko Interviewed on International Relations
OW0108131488 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 24 Jul 88

[Excerpts] The proposals made at the 19th party conference earlier this month in Moscow have aroused public attention in various countries of the world, including in the Asia-Pacific region. The world public is particularly interested in the proposed principle of democracy in international relations. Our reporter has interviewed Titarenko, director of the Far East Institute under the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and chairman of the All-Union Sinologists Association, asking him to tell us how he thinks this principle should be implemented with regard to relations between the Soviet Union and China.

[Begin Titarenko recording in Russian fading into Mandarin translation] In his report to the 19th all-union party conference, Gorbachev stressed that democracy and humanitarianism should be broadly practiced in reforming international relations. In addition, democracy and humanitarianism should be promoted in relations between peoples, as well as between countries. [passage omitted]

This idea of the Soviet leader once again convinces us that now the masses of the people in society should keep a concerned eye on such matters as protecting peace, stopping war, and protecting the environment. At present, this line is manifested in the mass movement called people's diplomacy. People's diplomacy has a very broad meaning. [passage omitted]

There is another very important aspect of people's diplomacy; that is, we must create a situation marked by peace, cooperation, and understanding. Needless to say, this means broad cooperation in the economic and cultural fields, development of trade, and exchanges of (?visits) and experiences. All these principles of people's diplomacy are completely applicable to Soviet-Chinese relations which have developed remarkably in recent years.

In my view, the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society has played an active role in democratizing our bilateral relations. For example, the society never ceased its activities, not even during the Cultural Revolution in China when relations between our two countries deteriorated. Now the society has become even more active in carrying out its work and is encouraging the Soviet public to take part in the society's activities on a broad scale. Delegations of our friendship organizations have exchanged visits.

For example, at the invitation of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries and the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society, a delegation of the China-USSR Friendship Association led by its chairman, Wu Xiuquan, is visiting the Soviet Union. Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, reiterated the Soviet Union's resolve to strive to develop Soviet-Chinese relations as it has in the past when he received delegation leader Wu Xiuquan.

When the delegation met with Tereshkova, the first (?female) chairman of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries, and with Academician Tikhvinskiy, chairman of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society, the two sides discussed ways to develop Soviet-Chinese relations through these friendship organizations. Tereshkova suggested that, as a first step, there should be contacts between the peoples of our two countries through periodical exchanges of visits by scholars and cultural workers to discuss (?peace) and royalty issues, and exchange experiences of the two countries in building socialism. I think that this channel of cooperation is also part of people's diplomacy and plays an important role in promoting broad contacts between our two peoples. We of the Sinologists Society will also do our best to promote the development of such contacts and the establishment of mutual understanding and friendly relations between the Soviet Union and China. [end recording]

Heilongjiang Leader on Trade With Khabarovsk
OW0108130488 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 26 Jul 88

[Text] Listeners, we have reported that a delegation from neighboring Heilongjiang Province has been visiting Khabarovsk. Both sides have signed an accord on trade and economic cooperation between the Khabarovsk border region and Heilongjiang. This station's Far East

correspondent has asked Du Xianzhong, head of the Chinese delegation and vice governor of the Heilongjiang Provincial People's Government, to talk about his stay in Khabarovsk.

[Begin Du Xianzhong recording] As soon as we set foot on Soviet soil, we were accorded warm reception by the Executive Committee of the Khabarovsk border region. Because of its thoughtful planning, we have had extensive contacts with leaders of the executive committee and comrades of relevant departments, factories, stores, and schools. From those contacts we learned about our Soviet comrades' great determination in implementing the CPSU Central Committee's programs for economic and social development. We also learned that, during the course of achieving their objectives, our Soviet comrades have come to realize that, in addition to relying on their own efforts, they must cooperate with China. In our discussions, both sides have stated that our cooperation should be based on the principle of equality and reciprocity, a principle which is in the interest of both the Soviet and the Chinese side. On this basis, we have had extensive discussions on economic, trade, and technical cooperation.

As far as trade is concerned, there is a marked increase in the variety and quantity of goods that we trade today compared with before. More importantly, we have explored some new areas for economic and technical cooperation. For example, the Soviet side has stated that Heilongjiang, by providing labor services, can help Khabarovsk produce and process foodstuffs, vegetables, and some light industrial goods; and that Heilongjiang can come to Khabarovsk to undertake construction projects, such as building houses, youth palaces, factories, guest houses, and logging. The Soviet side has also stated that Heilongjiang can process goods with materials supplied by Khabarovsk.

In short, I feel that the Chinese and Soviet sides are exploring common ground for economic cooperation. We hope that the Soviet side will provide Heilongjiang with some production means and commodities we badly need. Realizing that the Soviet side may experience difficulties, I will send a group of specialists here to study what kinds of commodities can be used for compensatory trade and how the trade will be conducted. I am sure this problem can be solved.

The last issue is about the need of promoting coordination in our economic cooperation. This is because we have reached dozens—not just a couple—of accords, and there will be even more accords in the future. In the course of implementing these accords, we will surely encounter this or that kind of problem. So, in order to achieve even greater successes in our cooperation, we agreed that, in addition to exchanging specialists, we will (?also exchange permanent representatives) so that they will be able to meet any time to coordinate the settlement of problems. [end recording]

Listeners, during its visit in the USSR, the Heilongjiang delegation will also visit Amur Oblast and the coastal areas.

Trade Union Delegation Comments on Relations

OW0108130088 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Excerpts] As we reported earlier, at the invitation of the Soviet All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, the delegation of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions headed by Wang Xun, secretary of the Secretariat of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, has visited the Soviet Union. During the visit, the Chinese guests familiarized themselves with the activities of trade union organizations in Moscow, Leningrad, Latvian SSR, and Kazakh SSR in the course of reform.

Shalayev, chairman of the Presidium of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, received the Chinese delegation. Amid a warm and friendly atmosphere, both sides held talks and exchanged opinions on further improving trade union activities in the course of social and economic reform in the Soviet Union and China. They also discussed questions on developing and improving cooperation between trade union organizations of the two countries.

Shalayev handed over a letter to the delegation of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, inviting Comrade Ni Zhifu, president of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, to visit the Soviet Union as head of a Chinese trade union delegation at a time convenient to him.

Prior to his departure, Comrade Wang Xun was interviewed by a station reporter. Comrade Wang Xun said: China and the Soviet Union are both in the course of strengthening their reform. The common desire to solve various problems calls on us to exchange experiences. The Chinese laboring people want to wish the Soviet people success in their reform. [passage omitted]

In answering questions raised by reporters on the prospects of developing relations between the Soviet and Chinese trade union organizations, Comrade Wang Xun said: We are quite satisfied with the friendly development of relations between the Chinese and Soviet trade union organizations since the resumption of relations between trade union organizations of the two countries in 1985. I am convinced that with our joint efforts the relations will be further developed. We can exchange our experiences in carrying out reform in trade union work and can thus enable our trade union organizations to develop their role in state and social affairs in a better way. We will protect workers' democratic rights and personal interests and promote peace in world. Our trade union organizations will extensively develop friendly contacts with trade union organizations of all other countries.

Near East & South Asia

Afghan General Denies Combat Role for Soviets

LD0108190088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 1 Aug 88

[Text] Western mass media have recently been spreading rumors alleging that Soviet troops have been preparing to carry out combat operations in Kabul Province.

A TASS correspondent has asked Colonel General Shahnavaz Tanai, chief of the General Staff of the Afghan Armed Forces, to comment on the situation in the province.

The recent series of shellings of the Afghan capital bears witness to the fact that extremists have concentrated around Kabul, he stated. In connection with this there arose the necessity of ensuring security in the region of Paghman and in some other areas, and also of eliminating terrorist groups in the vicinity of the capital. Afghan troops alone will deal with this. They have already dealt a number of blows in which the enemy has suffered losses. A large quantity of arms, including rocket launchers, has also been seized.

As a TASS correspondent has been told by a representative of the Soviet military command, the units of the limited contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan are not taking a direct part in the combat operations in Kabul Province nor in other regions of the country.

Soviets Leave Qandahar for Home

LD0108162488 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 1 Aug 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report by correspondents A. Shkerando and Ye. Shmatrikov from Qandahar]

[Text] [Announcer] In accordance with the Geneva agreements, one more Soviet troop unit is returning home from Afghanistan. Here is a report by our correspondents in the town of Qandahar:

[Shkerando] For 8 years this military unit has been fulfilling its internationalist duty in one of the hottest spots in Afghanistan. It is here, in the area bordering Pakistan, that the Afghan extremists have been trying with all their might to create a bridgehead, with the aim of seizing additional areas of the country. These attempts are continuing.

However, the Afghan Armed Forces have gained combat experience with Soviet units during operations, and with the support of the local population they are giving a deserved rebuff to the enemies of the Afghan people. [video shows group of troops]

The last solemn parade. The leaders of Qandahar Province, led by the general governor, Nurol Haq Ulumi, have come to see their Soviet friends off. By tradition, the Soviet troops are handed presents as souvenirs. Now the first group is flying home. [video shows soldiers in fatigues listening to speech, being presented with gifts, lined up by Aeroflot Il-6MD aircraft]

[Begin recording of Lieutenant Colonel Yu. N. Epoletov, identified by caption] Not far away, literally here, is the border with Pakistan. This has its effect on the combat actions we have carried out, along with Afghan troops, who, during our joint military service and operations, have gained significant combat experience. At the same time, I want to say that the Soviet internationalist troops have given the Afghan people not only military and combat aid, but also aid in the form of peaceful labor. In particular, our military unit has constructed two schools and has helped to restore seven Afghan colleges. A park of friendship has been developed. In leaving Afghanistan, we are departing with the feeling of having fulfilled our duty, and we believe that in the current situation our Afghan comrades are now capable of fulfilling all the combat tasks that until now we have jointly carried out. [end recording] [video shows troops with each soldier carrying a small haversack, marching up aircraft's steps, plane taking off]

Afghanistan Situation Reviewed

LD0108135688 Moscow TASS in English 1254 GMT 1 Aug 88

[Text] Kabul August 1 TASS—By correspondent Oleg Kuzmin:

Some 700 Afghans, returning after many years of exile abroad, passed through three border points on the Afghan-Iranian and Afghan-Pakistani border in two days. In Eslam Qal'eh, Towr Kham and Spin Buldak, former refugees were welcomed by local authorities who rendered them material aid. Then the returnees were sent by the aircraft of Ariana Air Company and the Afghan Air Force to their home provinces of Herat, Nangarhar, Qandahar, Kabul, Samangan, Parwan and Ghazni. However, if one takes into account that there are currently some four million refugees in the camps in Pakistan and Iran, the mass return to the homeland has not yet begun. The situation remains tense in the camps, especially those on Pakistani territory. Many refugees do not trust Pakistani authorities which promise to allow them leave en masse after the end of the religious holiday 'Id al-Adha. Meetings and demonstrations continue to be held. One of the reasons which caused Afghans' discontent is the fact that a considerable part of international aid to the refugees was pocketed by the leaders of the seven-party alliance and commanders of major anti-government groupings. This triggered off recent armed clashes at the Dera Tang camp which left ten people killed and 22 others wounded.

In Mazar-e Sharif, Balkh Province, people gathered for a rally as a 70-man armed group, led by 'Abdullah, decided to go over to the side of the government. This relatively small detachment was armed with three French-made

mortars, a rocket launcher, four portable anti-aircraft rocket systems, recoilless gun, an anti-aircraft installation, eight large-calibre and 20 hand-operated machine guns and a large number of small arms. It is not hard to imagine what casualties these weapons could inflict if the members of the group did not take a decision to lay down arms. Lieutenant General Muhammad Jum'a Azak, the Army commander in northern Afghanistan, told the meeting that the decision of 'Abdullah and his subordinates testified to true patriotism, that it would contribute to rebuilding a peaceful situation in the province.

A number of Afghan regions were the site of battles in the past few days between government troops and the intransigent opposition. In Paghman District, Kabul Province, four secret bases of the extremists were captured. In districts Narang and Haskunar [name as received], Kunar Province, operations are held to destroy extremist groups which terrorised rural population. In the past twenty four hours alone, 20 rebels were killed. In all, up to 120 extremists were killed and a large amount of weapons and ammunition was seized in an operation in which peasants took an active part. Local residents also assisted security organs in detecting and destroying a large arms depot in Shur Rud District, Nangarhar Province.

At the same time, the facts prove that the successes of the Afghan Army are not a guarantee that the bloodshed will end. In the same province, Nangarhar, where antigovernment groupings suffered a series of losses, the armed groups of opposition intended to resume combat actions. Their goal is to capture districts Achin and Nazian. American and Arab advisers must take part in the planned operation. Weapons and ammunition are currently being shipped to the area of future combat operations. To boost the "morale" of the rebels it was announced that those involved in the operation would receive 10,000 afghanis each, the families of those killed 100,000 afghanis, those disabled 50,000 afghanis and those with light wounds 20,000 afghanis.

Foreign patrons of the opposition see to it that their charges do not feel any shortage of weapons. In the last days of July in violation of the Geneva accords, shipments of arms and ammunition for the armed antigovernment groups in various regions of Afghanistan continued from Pakistan. In the central regions of Parvaneh Province, for example, a convoy carrying weapons and ammunition arrived from Pakistan escorted by a 150-strong group. Two detachments of the group, the movement of the Islamic Revolution of Afghanistan, arrived in the area of Pol-e 'Alam, Loghar Province, armed with rocket launchers, machine guns, hand-operated antitank grenade launchers. The rebels plan to shell guard posts of the provincial centre.

Two groups from the Islamic Party of Afghanistan [IPA] and the Islamic Society of Afghanistan, totalling 150 men, appeared in the area of Jegdalek in Sorabi District, Kabul-Jalalabad road.

A large shipment of weapons and ammunition, including two Stinger rocket complexes, three rocket launchers and some 400 rocket projectiles, was delivered from Pakistan to Shakar Darreh District for the IPA detachment.

This "care" led to the following results: Over the July 28-30 period six civilians were killed as a result of shelling and attacks by rebels on the settlements in provinces Kabul, Balkh, Ghazni, Qandahar, Kunar, Paktia and others. Another 35 people received wounds. It was reported that Kabul came under rocket fire yesterday again. One man was killed and two others wounded.

Paper Interviews Pardoned Military Deserter

PM2907100188 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 Jul 88 p 14

[Interview with Afghan veteran N. Ryzhkov by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA correspondent A. Korobov: "Atonement"; date and place not given—first six paragraphs are LITERATURNAYA GAZETA introduction]

[Text] On 16 June 1983 Private Ryzhkov, who was serving in Afghanistan, left his military unit without authorization. A search was fruitless. Nikolay was missing.

The first information about him came from Brussels in November. Speaking at a press conference in the European Parliament, he stated that he had voluntarily surrendered to a rebel gang and that he disagreed with the Soviet state's policy on Afghanistan.

Soon the United States offered Ryzhkov political asylum. Between December 1983 and June 1984 he took part in six more press conferences and gave seven interviews. All slanderous in nature. Then Ryzhkov's appearances in the Western media ceased.

In November 1984 Nikolay appeared at the Soviet Embassy in Washington. He went back there 12 December with a request to return home. He flew to Moscow 5 days later.

After examining Pvt N.A. Ryzhkov's case in open session, the Moscow Military District military tribunal sentenced him on the basis of Article 64, paragraph "A" of the RSFSR Criminal Code to 12 years' imprisonment in a strict-regime correctional labor colony without confiscation of property or exile.

LITERATURNAYA GAZETA has already told its readers in its 13 July issue that Ryzhkov was pardoned 4 July 1988 by a USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree. Today we are publishing an interview with him by our correspondent Aleksey Korobov.

[Korobov] The military tribunal's verdict said that you left your unit without authorization and gave yourself up to the dushmans. What was the reason for your actions?

[Ryzhkov] On that day I had a real quarrel with the people with whom I worked on the switchboard. They were two privates—switchboard operators. I was transferred to them at the beginning of July from a construction unit, and somehow we didn't get on right from the start. I was worked up, so I went absent without leave.

[Korobov] Did you intend to surrender?

[Ryzhkov] No. The thought never entered my head. I was worried about how to return to the unit. But I knew that leaving the unit without authorization in wartime would mean facing a tribunal. I decided to go to the military prosecutor and tell him everything. I was captured on the way there.

[Korobov] Tell me in more detail how this happened.

[Ryzhkov] I had been sitting around in some orchards on the outskirts of Kabul about 1.5-2 km from the unit, wondering what to do. Then, when I had made up my mind, I moved along an irrigation canal flowing past there. I crossed a little bridge to the other bank. I remember that I followed a fence. It started to get dark, I started to hurry, afraid that I would not manage to get to my destination before nightfall. Suddenly, quite close by, a rifle bolt clicked and a dushman jumped out from behind a mud wall. I must have been half asleep. I looked around nervously. There were another four people behind him. I was in uniform and unarmed. I thought: "That's it!" I was pretty scared. They asked: "Why are you here?" I replied: "I want to go to the West." I don't know why, but it was the first thing that came into my head. They jabbered something among themselves, then wrapped me up in something half-way between a robe and a mattress. It was a kind of straitjacket—my hands were pinned to my body, but my legs were free. They took me to the mountains like this. [Ryzhkov ends]

From the investigation materials:

"Ryzhkov gave himself up without putting up the slightest resistance. This fact gives considerable food for thought. During the investigation Warrant Officer Dyadya admitted that he found out that Ryzhkov had left only 3 days later—19 June. Of course, the searches organized then could not have yielded anything."

[Korobov] Nikolay, judging by what you said when you met the rebels, that was presumably the moment when you decided to go over to the West?

[Ryzhkov] Not at all. For the 1st month, while I was at a staging post and being escorted to Pakistan, I hoped that our guys would free me. In that case I would have the opportunity to justify myself.

[Korobov] You didn't try to escape?

[Ryzhkov] No. At the staging post I was under the constant supervision of two armed guards, and on the way to Pakistan there were four of them. You can't make a false move with them. They are tough people—you don't know what to expect, particularly at first. You may get beaten up or shot. Some time later, when I got to know another POW called Aleksandr near Peshawar, I had to abandon this scenario altogether. You can't run away. At best you get out of the hands of one gang and into those of another where things are even worse—they may kill you without hesitation, as a sacrifice to Allah.

[Korobov] But in the Koran in the sura "Spoils of War" it says: "Apostle! Say to those who are captives in your hands: 'If God findeth any good in your hearts, he will give you something better...'"

[Ryzhkov] I do not know what the Koran says, but Sashka, for example, became very familiar with their "goodness." He was a prisoner in a very religious gang. They demanded that he be converted to Islam. When he refused, they mocked and taunted him, and beat him with sticks and with whatever came to hand. He escaped from them miraculously just before they were going to execute him. And what happened? He was captured right away by the cutthroats Agzhi and Sofi, the two leaders of our band.

Generally, there was not much choice when we were in the hands of the dushmans. Torture and death, or do what they tell you. And they are experts at torture. The most dreadful one of all is not physical: It is waiting for death day and night. We were kept in this state constantly. You lose your humanity very quickly.

One day they "accidentally" let slip that they had told the Soviet forces of our "decision" to join in the "holy war under Allah's banner." In fact there was no such thing. Now I realize that they were preparing us for the next stage—the arrival of Western emissaries. And they were labeling us traitors in our absence.

They did this in various ways. During a battle somebody would start appealing in your name to people in good Russian to go over to the rebels. Or when they were withdrawing they would leave a document of yours or a photograph of relatives bearing your name, if you had these things on you when you were taken prisoner, and there you are—you were a traitor to your country.

About 2 months later Lyudmila Torn [name as published] arrived from the United States. Officially she represented the New York "Freedom House." She was preparing articles on Afghanistan for the magazine of that name. She was not tall, she looked about 35 although it later turned out that she was 46, and she had an excellent command of Russian. She comes from a former White Guard family.

The logic of her conversations boiled down to the following. At home you are a traitor. Execution awaits you there. In the United States it's the opposite—all life's pleasures. They would help me to get out, I would only have to sign a statement saying that I was ready to cooperate in propaganda activity on any terms. If I did not agree, well, the Afghans are hot-tempered and uncontrollable people...

[Korobov] And you agreed right away?

[Ryzhkov] Not right away. Aleksandr and I thought like this: If you refuse, you become an unnecessary burden to the dushmans. They intended to sell us for a profit. If we stayed in Pakistan we would be killed. But if we lived for about 5 years in the United States, things would gradually calm down, and then we would try to return home.

With hindsight I now realize that this was not the only way out. Through this same Torn we could have first tried to publish our own statement, even if the tone was anti-Soviet, and attract attention. And when the opportunity arose we could have demanded protection from the International Red Cross. But we simply gave in and followed the path laid out by the Americans.

Unfortunately, it is almost impossible for our prisoners to go to the Red Cross. The dushmans themselves do not let them. And the Americans prevent it. Their main concern is to ensure that no one can return to the USSR.

We did not know about these "intrigues" in Pakistan. Intimidated from all sides, we gave the required signature. Torn explained that from that moment on we must always say that we surrendered voluntarily, disagreed with Soviet policy, and so on. Supposedly in order to obtain entry visas for capitalist countries.

[Korobov] How did they get you to the West?

[Ryzhkov] We flew out of Islamabad with FRG documents on an aircraft belonging to a West German airline. We were taken to Munich. There is an area called the "American" zone where servicemen from the surrounding U.S. bases and their support staff settle. They housed us there separately and under supervision.

In Munich our fingerprints and palm prints were taken, and we were given a medical examination. On 10 November we were checked on a "lie detector." They were afraid that we had been sent on purpose. The results of the test proved satisfactory.

I was told that we would have to speak at a press conference in Brussels in the European Parliament. And thank President Reagan for granting us political asylum. I was given nearly 2 weeks of instruction on how to behave and what to say. I was made to read a pile of publications on "Soviet atrocities" in Afghanistan. We rehearsed for a long time: They asked various questions to which I had to give the only "correct" answer.

But in the European Parliament things did not go according to "plan." Lord Bethell led the press conference. I think that was his name. After my short introductory speech in Russian thanking Ronald Reagan, the lord started to speak in English. It was he who answered almost all the questions. And whereas the Russian was translated into English, the contents of the lord's speech could be guessed at only from the audience's reaction... [Ryzhkov ends]

From the military tribunal's verdict:

"This press conference was relayed over British and French television and was given wide coverage by the leading capitalist publishing houses and the BBC, VOA, Deutsche Welle, and Radio Liberty radio stations, which utilized Ryzhkov's speech to conduct a slander campaign against the Soviet Union.

"...Ryzhkov was officially told that the U.S. Government would grant him political asylum, and he left for the United States 27 November."

[Ryzhkov] Torn met me at the airport in New York. The accompanying "bodyguards" from the "Resistance International" organization led by Bukovskiy, vanished instantly. Only Lyudmila remained.

The drawing up of the residence permit began. At the same time there were summonses to the military intelligence agency and preparations for press conferences. The military intelligence agency asked about the location of units, food, morale, and so on. Once I was shown a map of the area near Kabul for clarification. Judging from what I knew, it was expertly drawn. You cannot draw this kind of map from verbal descriptions alone—you need instruments. I expressed surprise that they had summoned me. No one replied. But they paid me 50 dollars for every visit I made.

As for Torn, she did not greatly stand on ceremony. Knowing that I had not participated in combat operations, she prepared the texts for the press conferences. She brought material about Soviet forces' "atrocities" which I was supposed to have "witnessed" so I could read it and learn it.

[Korobov] What did you feel in this period? By your own account it is clear that you did everything voluntarily, without coercion.

[Ryzhkov] I was completely demoralized. I was afraid of everything. I realized very soon that I had switched from being an Afghan prisoner to being another prisoner.

The "International Rescue Committee" provided $48 per week for day to day expenses. But Lyudmila often stressed that bed and board were at her expense. I

wanted to look for work, but she objected: Before that it was essential to make a big name for myself via the media and then it would be easier to get myself a well-paid position.

My comrade Aleksandr ended up in the hands of a certain Makarenko, who lived in Washington. This person is a well known anti-Sovietist who had fabricated a movie on the victims of political terror in the USSR. He drove Sasha to the point of trying to commit suicide several times. He threw himself under a train and jumped from a bridge. All unsuccessfully. He soon started to drink heavily.

[Korobov] What did you lack during your stay in the United States?

[Ryzhkov] On the material side—nothing. I even bought a second-hand car. Toward the end I tried to escape from Torn. I could not stand her total control. Then I found out that Lyudmila received fees for the press conferences and interviews. She also received money from the "International Rescue Committee" for our maintaining POW's. And before that she received bonuses for those whom she succeeded in recruiting in Pakistan for sending to the United States.

Once Torn told me to call my mother at home. I refused. I knew that my conversation would be bugged, and you don't tell your mother lies. Then everyone would understand and would interfere.

[Korobov] You had decided to return to the USSR?

[Ryzhkov] Not yet. I wanted to talk to Aleksandr. And what happened next pushed me precisely in that direction. Aleksandr was not at home. Someone was waiting for me at his apartment... a CIA agent! A complete surprise for me. I had never been in contact with the CIA before.

The conversation with the CIA guy lasted for about 10 minutes. It was just by way of evaluation, it was of no significance. A call from Aleksandr interrupted it. He said that he was at Makarenko's place. I told him to wait and I would be there soon. I said goodbye to my interlocutor, went out into the street and—straight to the Soviet Embassy. But there was no one to receive me. It was their day off.

[Korobov] What did you do then?

[Ryzhkov] I went to Makarenko's place. They already knew about my visit to the embassy. They immediately started to vigorously dissuade me. Makarenko found me a job on a construction site. But the old arguments that I would be shot when I got back home no longer scared me. I was tired of being afraid.

Sashka did not try to persuade me. During the year we had discussed the question of returning many times. He said that sooner or later he would return. And then he admitted that he had gotten mixed up with the CIA. They had promised to "help" him. He hinted that he would have plastic surgery and then he would go. Exactly when he did not know. His gaze was depressed and doomed. He looked utterly feeble. Makarenko had reduced him to this state.

About a week later they changed their tactics. They started to say that if I couldn't take it, then I should go. They showed me an issue of IZVESTIYA mentioning Rykov and Khlan—soldiers who had gotten into a similar scrape. I realized only at the investigation afterwards why they had acted like this—they hoped that my example would be a bogey to scare off the rest. I was the first to return from the United States.

One day I got up as usual. I had my breakfast. I started to get ready as if I were going to work. But Aleksandr realized where I was going. He offered to take me there. He took me to the subway at my request. I gave him the $300 which remained from my wages. At that point we said goodbye. A week later I was in Moscow.

[Korobov] Kolya, tell me honestly, in view of the severity of the sentence and the 3 and ½ years you spent in prison, didn't you ever regret that you had returned?

[Ryzhkov] There's no quick answer to that. There were moments when the sentence seemed endless. But there were never any regrets: not in prison, and still less now that I am free. I realized my guilt back in the United States. I see the years which I spent behind bars now as an atonement. Not only for myself, but for others whom fate took across the ocean and for whom the way home still lies ahead.

UN's Diego Cordovez Views Afghan Peace Talks

PM2907135288 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 30, 24 Jul 88 p 4

[Text] "I believe in the possibility of restoring peace in Afghanistan. I became more confident of this after my encounters with Afghan leaders. I regard my visit as exceptionally successful therefore," Diego Cordovez told Boris Gan, MN correspondent in Kabul.

"A new element has appeared in my 'shuttle diplomacy'," he went on to say, "meeting took place in Kabul and Islamabad with representatives of the USSR and the USA are also striving to promote strict observance of the Geneva agreements. [sentence as published] I had a very useful meeting with the command of the limited contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan. Withdrawal of Soviet troops from that country is going to schedule, in accordance with the Geneva agreements, with no setbacks and under the strict control of the group of UN military observers.

"At the centre of attention during my meetings and talks with Afghan, Soviet and American spokesmen in Kabul were the difficulties we faced in the process of implementing the Geneva accords. We expected these difficulties. It should not be forgotten that the agreements reached in Geneva were preceded by long years of bloody conflict. Naturally, it will take time for the mechanism worked out in Geneva to start functioning without a hitch. I regard as very harmful attempts to whip up tension around the Geneva agreements which, unfortunately, is precisely the policy of Western press is pursuing today. By exaggerating our difficulties, it tries to cast doubts on the possibility of fulfilling the Geneva agreements and of achieving a political settlement of the Afghan problem. This runs counter to the viewpoint of the United Nations Organization under whose aegis the Geneva negotiations were held.

"In Geneva we have laid good foundations for a political settlement of the Afghan problem. I am sure that the Afghans will be able to come to an agreement among themselves and solve their problems without outside interference. At least, the meetings with Afghan leaders reassured me that Kabul is sincerely seeking dialogue with the other side."

'Differences' in U.S.-Pakistani Talks Viewed

LD3107131788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0300 GMT 30 Jul 88

[Vladimir Fadeyev commentary]

[Text] Pakistan's Foreign Minister Yakub Khan has been in Washington for 3 days. He discussed the situation around Afghanistan, and judging from information which has filtered into journalistic circles, the talks on this occasion were not marked by complete mutual understanding. Commentator Vladimir Fadeyev is at the microphone:

[Fadeyev] Of course, this report in itself should not suggest the idea that serious differences of opinion have emerged between Washington and Islamabad on the Afghan problem. The escalation of Pakistan's interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs continues unabated. Just as before, the Islamabad regime is supplying weapons to the Afghan opposition, including deliveries of U.S. mortars, recoilless guns, Stinger antiaircraft missiles, and other arms.

As before, convoys of terror are entering Afghanistan from Pakistani territory, and together with them, foreign advisors, including U.S. personnel. It is not enough that Pakistani soldiers are operating on Afghan territory as part of armed extremist groups. Islamabad is also paying millions of afghanis to rebel leaders to carry out explosions and other terrorist acts in towns. Pakistan has lately also been training special detachments of revolutionary fighting group members from among Afghan refugees, and, having fully assumed all costs to maintain them, is in actual fact training a special army of mercenaries.

Naturally, it is not difficult to continue this list of actions by Pakistan in support of the Peshawar Seven. Yet Pakistan is one of the sides which signed the Geneva accords.

The United States, together with our country, is acting as a guarantor of the fulfillment of these accords. It is true that in the United States itself there are forces—and it must be said fairly powerful ones—acting under the mask of various so-called public organizations which are trying to thwart the U.S. and Pakistani implementation of their obligations under the Geneva accords. They are also finding support among a few circles in Congress and the administration.

It would appear, however, that when we have now started to withdraw Soviet troops from Afghanistan—and this process is continuing—the common platform on which Washington and Islamabad view the future of Afghanistan is beginning to rock.

As is known, Ziaul Haq has blessed the creation of the so-called transitional government basis of the Peshawar grouping, in which a leading position has been taken up by fundamentalists with Gulbuddin Hekmatyar as their leader. However, alarm is being expressed by some U.S. administration officials and in U.S. press reports from Pakistan, with regard to the fact that General Ziaul Haq has not only hastened to set up a transitional government outside Afghanistan, but that he has also clearly given preference to that wing of the Peshawar Seven. This extremist group disappoints Washington with its extremist plans and aims, and also because it is expending too much effort on internecine struggle and allotting spheres of influence.

It is being said within the U.S. administration that Pakistan has not always briefed Washington precisely, to put it midly, on the situation in Afghanistan. The reasoning behind this criticism is understandable to me. I have repeatedly held in my hands the so-called combat reports, the diaries of commanders of some detachments of rebels. There have been more blatant lies and myths in them than the wildest imagination could find room for. From what sources were the claims concocted, and spread by Pakistan, that the Soviet Union is allegedly replacing the troops it is withdrawing from Afghanistan with fresh subunits? By the way, their entire inconsistency was admitted by the Pakistani foreign minister during a meeting with journalists.

Of course, voices were also heard previously among U.S. officials which sounded in defiance of Washington's policy of many years' standing regarding Afghanistan. Even now, as I have already said, there are so far insufficient grounds to state that serious contradictions have arisen between the United States and Pakistan on the Afghan problem. But, after all, life and the reality of the present-day world take their toll. The world public is today coming up against manifestations of new political thinking in Soviet foreign policy. Therefore, it would probably be

absurd on the part of the United States to look at the future of Afghanistan through the eyes of the Islamabad rulers who are openly interested in thwarting progress in regional peace and to delay, if not drive underground, the resolution of their own internal problems.

'Useful' UN Meetings on Gulf War Noted

LD3007092688 Moscow TASS in English 0710 GMT 30 Jul 88

[Text] New York July 30 TASS—By TASS correspondent Mikhail Kochetkov:

U.S. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar described as very useful his meetings in Friday with 'Ali Akbar Velayati, Iranian foreign minister, and Tariq 'Aziz, Iraqi deputy prime minister and foreign minister.

He said he was very hopeful after the talks because both sides still were interested in attaining a settlement of the conflict, although they had a divergence which was only normal considering the 8-year-old war, Perez de Cuellar told journalists. The U.N. secretary-general said he presented some new ideas, which were "not final ideas" because the talks continued.

The concept of direct talks was stil very important, he said, although the Iranian side generally agreed with it. He made it clear that the differences arose over the the stage of the settlement process at which they should enter into direct talks.

"'Ali Akbar Velayati told journalists after his meeting with Perez de Cuellar that the Iranian side regarded the new proposals on the settlement as generally positive. The minister said that Iran would give its answer on Saturday. He noted that the acceptance of Resolution 598 and implementation plan of the secretary general, including the demand for direct talks, was unconditional.

"We do hope that after the acceptance of the D-Day and the establishment of the ceasefire and the withdrawal of forces from both sides to the international border and exchange of POWs, the face-to-face talks in an acceptable level could be considered positively," Velayati stressed.

Tariq 'Aziz refused to comment on the proposals made at the meeting with the U.N. Secretary-General. According to President of the Security Council Paulo Nogueira-Batista, Iraqi representatives also proposed to conclude a peace pact, with the Security Council as its guarantor. The Iraqi side wants to discuss this question before announcing a ceasefire.

Iranian representatives described Iraqi proposals on immediate face-to-face talks as a precondition running counter to the letter and spirit of the Security Council Resolution 598 on the setlement of the Iran-Iraq conflict, and also to the U.N. secretary-general's implementation plan.

The existing difficulties, according to Paulo Nogueira Batista, were not insurmountable. It is important that the sides wanted peace and a ceasefire would be reached soon he said. He said that Security Council was united and rendered full support to the efforts of Perez de Cuellar.

Paper Comments on Opposition to Ending Gulf War

PM0108104588 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 30 Jul 88 Single Edition p 5

[A. Bogomolov article: "The Path to Peace Will Be Long"]

[Text] Even though consultations are in progress between high-ranking representatives of Iran and Iraq and UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar, there is no reason to speak of a lull along the Iran-Iraq front. More and more news reports of battles, air raids, and artillery shelling arrive every day. The sides cite figures for losses and captured prisoners and data about the results of offensives and counterattacks. Moreover, the information is contradictory, as it has been ever since the very start of this conflict.

Following Iran's recognition of UN Security Council Resolution 598, which calls for an end to combat actions, conditions were created for ending the war. The foreign ministers of Iran and Iraq are now in New York. Of course, there is a mass of complex questions to be resolved, involving in particular the determination of the extent to which each side is guilty of starting the war. (Iraq claims that the conflict began after Iranian artillery shelled Iraqi territory, while Iran claims that Iraq was the initiator by launching military actions on Iranian territory.) It is assumed that the solution of other disputed questions will be tackled by a commission set up under UN auspices once an agreement has been elaborated to end the war and an accord is reached on ceasing combat operations and exchanging prisoners of war.

The emerging impression is that, by continuing the conflict despite everything, the sides are now striving to gain more advantageous conditions for conducting talks. Such an approach would probably not help a swift settlement of the conflict. More and more fresh troops are being thrown into combat, and Iran has announced the recruitment of volunteers. News reports about the use of toxic gases are worrisome.

Generally speaking, the situation is contradictory. It will be hard to overcome the reciprocal prejudices accumulated over 8 years between the leaderships and peoples of both countries. This makes the quest for ways to bring them closer together more complex. For example, Iran is rejecting Iraq's proposals for direct contacts, opting for talks only through mediation by the UN secretary general.

Over these war years there has not been a single state, a single political force in the world, that has tried to either directly or indirectly justify the continuation of the

conflict. Most recently, however, the unexpectedly audible voices of "alarmed parties" have been heard. The first among them were uninvited Israeli military experts who claim that now a cessation of combat operations on the Iran-Iraq front is possible, they are worried about the direction that the two states' military machines might turn. Bearing their policy orientation in mind, the experts fear that the two sides' reconciliation would alter the balance of forces to Israel's disadvantage.

International arms dealers are also worried. After all, this senseless war has been a real gold mine for them. Paris, for example, annually sold to both sides goods whose value accounted for one-half of the total exports of French weapons.

These voices clearly indicate who is interested in keeping the bloody carousel turning.

Now it is clear: It will not be easy to halt the flywheel of war which is turning at full speed. This will be hindered by highly influential forces both outside and inside the two countries. It is necessary to be prepared for many disappointments alternating with hopes before the long-awaited silence falls over the battlefield.

Egypt's Ghali Views Soviet Role in Mideast

LD0108224688 Moscow TASS in English 2137 GMT 1 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 1 TASS—The future of the world can be ensured only by joint efforts of nations said Butrus Ghali, minister of state for foreign affairs of the Arab Republic of Egypt and board chairman of the Egyptian-Soviet Friendship Society, staying in the Soviet Union on a visit. A constructive dialogue between nations and development of friendly relations are the only way to a successful solution of pressing tasks facing mankind, he said in an interview with TASS.

Concerted actions between the USSR and the USA create real prerequisites for peace, security and stability and contribute to tackling regional problems. The Egyptian people, the minister went on to say, hails the Soviet Union's initiatives in preventing a further growth in tension in international relations and in the campaign against the nuclear threat.

Butrus Ghali noted that the explosive situation which can be defused only by solving the Palestinian problem, persists in the Middle East. Its peaceful settlement can be reached only through negotiations and by convening an international conference on the Middle East with the participation of all interested parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization and the great powers, permanent members of the U.N. Security Council.

The recent recognition by Iran of Resolution 598 of the U.N. Security Council is assessed by Egypt as the first step along the road of ending the protracted bloody war between Iran and Iraq, said the minister. He expressed the hope that the present chance for a peaceful settlement of the Iran-Iraq conflict would not be lost. Speaking in conclusion, Butrus Ghali expressed conviction that solutions would be also found for other problems of the much-suffering Mid-East region.

Describes Moscow Visit

LD2907233888 Moscow International Service in Arabic 1500 GMT 29 Jul 88

[Interview with Dr Butrus Ghali, Egyptian minister of state for foreign affairs, with commentator Aleksandr Timoshkim on 29 July; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Timoshkin] Could you, Mr Minister, tell us briefly about your mission here in Moscow and about the meetings you have held and the topics you have discussed during these meetings?

[Ghali] In fact, the mission I was entrusted with had multiple goals. The first aspect was taking part in the gatherings of the Egypt-USSR Friendship Society and the USSR-Egypt Friendship Society. I met with Mrs Valentina Tereshkova and with Minister (Vladimir Zinogradock), and we discussed cooperation between the two societies. We agreed on a program of action to reactivate cooperation between the two societies, and we also signed an agreement for cooperation between the two societies.

The second mission is linked to my role as secretary in the General Secretariat of the National Democratic Party; and in that capacity I held talks with the secretary of the Central Committee, Anatoliy Dobrinin. We discussed cooperation between the ruling party in the USSR and the ruling party in Egypt, the importance of this cooperation, and the various aspects of this cooperation.

The third mission was connected with relations between the two states, and at the forefront of these bilateral relations, diplomatic consultations. I held talks with First Deputy Foreign Minister Yuriy Vorontsov; and I can say that these talks were positive, as we first of all discussed bilateral relations between the two states. We also discussed the stand of both the USSR and Egypt toward a number of regional issues, including the Middle East crisis, the Gulf war, and issues relating to decolonization in southern Africa.

I also had academic contacts and I got in touch with the African Institute, which is part of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, and with Brother Anatoliy Gromyko. We agreed on the date of the second seminar or conference. The first conference was held in Cairo last year; and we agreed that the second one will be held in Moscow in May to discuss a number of academic issues. We examined the main topics. Although we have not yet agreed on the theme of this conference, we agreed to hold it in May; and in the coming weeks we will agree on the details of this important academic conference for Egyptian and Soviet scholars.

In brief, I can say that the talks held here, both at the government level, with the deputy foreign minister, at party level, at the level of the friendship society, and finally at the academic level, were extremely positive.

[Timoshkin] In this climate of reactivation of Soviet-Egyptian relations, we sometimes hear the usual story about the return of Soviet influence in Egypt. What is your opinion about this?

[Ghali] Egypt is a nonaligned state and it believes in the policy of nonalignment. We believe that we are not seeking to improve relations between Egypt and the USSR, but rather to reactivate these relations. We are seeking a kind of desired balance between Egyptian-Soviet relations and Egyptian-U.S. relations. This is in line with the policy of nonalignment and in the consolidation of this policy, which is primarily aimed at working toward establishing international peace and security.

[Timoshkin] What is your personal opinion about the importance of Egypt's relations with the USSR in terms of Egypt's national interests?

[Ghali] In fact, we must not look at relations in terms of Egypt's interests or the Soviet Union's interests, but rather at relations in terms of furthering the interests of peace. Improving relations between Egypt and the Soviet Union helps bring about peace in the world. We are in dire need of peace. Besides, the more underdeveloped the Third World states become, the greater their need for peace is, even greater than for developed states, for the former need foreign aid and development. The Third World states can only obtain this aid in a climate of peace. In other words, peace between East and West is a first step toward more cooperation between the North and South—the developing South which needs aid from the North, whether socialist or capitalist.

[Timoshkin] A final question: Your general impressions of Moscow, because I have not been anywhere else.

[Ghali] I visited Leningrad during previous visits but I have come here on a mission and not as a tourist. When I visit a country on official business I am able to visit the offices of officials and ministers, but I do not have opportunities to tour the city, and I regret that. However, work can be more important, especially if this work is for the sake of consolidating relations between the two states, peoples, parties, and governments—as I said, if it is for the sake of peace.

[Timoshkin] What do you think of the weather in Moscow as compared with that in Egypt these days?

[Ghali] The weather was warm and it reflects the warmth of Egyptian-Soviet friendship.

Egyptian, Soviet Envoys Mark Anniversary of Ties

LD0108200488 Moscow TASS in English 1756 GMT 1 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 1 TASS—Today's round-table discussion at the NOVOSTI press agency was devoted to the 45th anniversary of Soviet-Egyptian diplomatic relations and issues of Middle East settlement.

The ambassador of Egypt to the USSR, Salah al-Din Hasan Basyuni, and the Soviet ambassador to Egypt, Gennadiy Zhuravlev, took part in the discussion.

Reviewing the history of Egyptian-Soviet relations which began in August 1943, the Egyptian ambassador stated that they set an example of mutual relations between a developing nation and a great power.

All political forces that had existed in Egypt before the proclamation of the republic regarded the Soviet Union as the principal support in the struggle to end British occupation and gain independence, he said.

After the July, 1952 revolution, Egypt had invariably enjoyed support from the Soviet Union. This was in the British-French-Israeli aggression in 1956, in the 1967 Israeli aggression and in the years that followed.

In the field of economic relations, the USSR'S concent to provide assistance in building the Aswan High Dam and other big projects was of fundamental importance for the country's economy.

The 1950s-1960s saw the [word indistinct] of the firm foundations of Egyptian-Soviet ties, said Basyuni.

The perestroyka drive currently under way in [words indistinct] the establishment of new political thinking were opening up wide prospects for the further expansion of cooperation between the two countries, he said.

Soviet Ambassador Zhuravlev believed that the process of normalising Soviet-Egyptian relations had been completed. They were at the stage of active development. The Soviet cultural centre resumed work in Cairo, the USSR opened consulates-general in Alexandria and Port Sa'id, a number of agreements in the field of economy and culture were signed.

He stressed the importance of the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Egyptian Foreign Minister Ahmad 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid.

The ambassadors were unanimous that the Middle East problem could be settled only by peaceful means. The Egyptian side, Basyuni said, shared the Soviet viewpoint concerning the need for an effective U.N.-sponsored Middle East conference with the equitable participation of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

Presidium Greets YAR's Salih on Reelection

PM0108143988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Exchange of Telegrams"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has cabled congratulations to President 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih of the Yemen Arab Republic [YAR] on his reelection to this high post. The Soviet Union, the telegram states, is well aware of 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih's contribution to strengthening the traditionally friendly Soviet-North Yemeni relations. It expresses the confidence that ties between the two countries, which are reinforced by the 1984 Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, will be further developed for the good of the Soviet and Yemeni peoples and in the interests of strengthening international peace, cooperation, and security.

In his reply telegram, the YAR president expressed profound gratitude and thanks for the warm and friendly congratulations and reaffirmed the profound desire to make every effort on the path of developing and strengthening the friendly relations that have long linked the two countries. The telegram also expresses wishes for the Soviet people's further prosperity and well-being.

Sub-Saharan Africa

U.S.-Soviet Talks on Southern Africa Close

LD0108194888 Moscow TASS in English 1935 GMT 1 Aug 88

[Text] Geneva August 1 TASS—The Soviet Union and the United States held their regular consultations on African problems in Geneva from July 31 to August 1.

The Soviet side was represented by Anatoliy Adamishin, USSR deputy foreign minister, the American—by Chester Crocker, U.S. assistant secretary for African affairs.

The sides exchanged views on the course of talks on Angola and Namibian independence, being conducted by Angola, Cuba and South Africa through the mediation of the United States.

The Soviet Union wishes success to these talks whose new round is beginning in Geneva on August 2.

The discussion was detailed and constructive and was useful for determining ways of possible assistance by the two sides to the talks' earliest progress.

The sides also exchanged opinions on the situation in the Horn of Africa in the light of efforts by Ethiopia and other countries in the region to find a political settlement to the conflict in that part of the world.

Astrauskas Receives Ghanaian Official

LD0108163388 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1015 GMT 1 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow, 1 Aug (TASS)—Relations and trust and mutual understanding have developed between the USSR and Ghana, a constructive political dialogue is being maintained, and links are being formed in the trade, economic, scientific, cultural, and other spheres. This was noted during a friendly meeting held today between Vitautas Astrauskas, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Daniel Annan, member of the Provisional National Defense Council, who is in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The guest was told about the results of the 19th all-union party conference, and of the recent CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the process of restructuring, and the role and place of the Soviets of People's Deputies in implementing revolutionary transformations. The Ghanian statesman noted the great international significance of the changes taking place in the USSR, which are having a favorable influence on moves toward a non-nuclear world and toward solving mankind's problems.

West Europe

Further Reportage on Visit by FRG's Genscher

Held at 'Crucial Moment'

LD3107104788 Moscow TASS in English 1020 GMT 31 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 31 TASS—West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher said at a news conference in Moscow today that his visit to the USSR was held at a crucial moment—on the eve of meetings between General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and Federal Chancellor of West Germany Helmut Kohl in Moscow in October and in Bonn in the first half of 1989, which he said would be major events in relations between the USSR and West Germany. He also underlined that his visit was held at a time of reassuring development of East-West (?relations). General Secretary Gorbachev underlined the key role of Soviet-West German relations for the development of East-West relations and the need for these relations to be built on the basis of peaceful competition and mutual respect, without imposing one's values on the other side, Genscher said.

The USSR is resolutely continuing the process of reforms, which it now describes as irreversible, the foreign minister said. Summing up the results of his working visit to the USSR, he said that the Soviet Union was in all seriousness striving for a fundamental improvement of East-West relations, for broader and deeper bilateral relations between the USSR and West Germany.

Establishment of stability in conventional armaments, said Genscher, is the pivotal issue of security in Europe. He noted the importance of the initiatives advanced at the Warsaw meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee, describing them as encouraging. Both sides underlined the need for the East and the West to jointly undertake efforts toward completion of the Vienna meeting, including agreeing upon the mandate of the negotiations on conventional armaments, said the foreign minister. Both sides were unanimous in the opinion that there is a pressing task of achieving an early completion of the negotiations on a global ban on chemical weapons, he said.

Touching upon Soviet-West German economic relations, the foreign minister said that in the course of the negotiations both sides had expressed the wish to deepen these relations and search for new forms of economic cooperation.

Genscher favourably appraised a considerable rise in the number of citizens of the German origin leaving the USSR and favoured expansion of mutual visits.

On the same day Genscher left Moscow upon completion of his visit to the USSR.

Holds News Conference

LD3107172988 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 31 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] There was a news conference today at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center by FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher. The head of the foreign policy department of the FRG noted that his current working visit to Moscow is a part of the regular political consultations on which an agreement was signed in Bonn in January this year during the visit there by USSR Foreign Minister Shevardnadze. Such consultations, stressed Genscher, are of great significance to the further development of relations between the FRG and the USSR.

Hans-Dietrich Genscher noted in particular his latest 2-hour conversation with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. During this conversation, it was stressed that relations of trust between the two countries are of great significance for the development of positive processes in Europe and throughout the world. The FRG foreign minister reported that during his meeting with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, as well as during his talks with Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze, there was detailed discussion of the problem of disarmament in Europe and a very rapid positive conclusion to the Vienna meeting of representatives of member states of the CSCE in Europe. Hans-Dietrich Genscher answered numerous questions from Soviet and foreign journalists.

Satisfied With Results

LD3107164388 Moscow TASS in English 1622 GMT 31 Jul 88

[Text] Bonn July 31 TASS—FRG Minister for Foreign Affairs Hans-Dietrich Genscher, who returned in Bonn today after his visit to the Soviet Union, expressed satisfaction with the results of the visit. In the course of the talks held in Moscow, which proceeded in an atmosphere of trust, considerable progress has been made in preparation for the forthcoming visit to the USSR in autumn of FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl, the minister said in the statement made in Cologne Airport.

As the DPA agency said, when in the plane en route from Moscow to Bonn Genscher told the newsmen accompanying him that already in August an FRG economic delegation would visit the Kola Peninsula to sound out the possibility of the participation of West German firms in working mineral deposits.

Interviewed by Soviet TV

LD3107210288 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1849 GMT 31 Jul 88

[Interview with FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher by Aleksandr Zholkver; date and place not given—live or recorded; Genscher and Zholkver remarks in German fading into superimposed Russian translation]

[Text] [Zholkver] Mr Minister, you have often visited Moscow. However, this working visit is the first practical implementation of the agreement on political consultations which was signed during the visit to Bonn by the USSR foreign minister. What topics were at the center of attention at the consultations held just now in Moscow?

[Genscher] This was actually the first round of these consultations on the basis of the accord reached in January this year. This visit is of special significance since it is taking place during an important phase in the development of East-West relations and also during an important phase in the internal development of the Soviet Union itself. My visit has also served as preparation for the forthcoming visit to Moscow by the FRG Federal chancellor. We attribute exceptionally great significance to this visit as well as to the visit to the FRG by Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, which is due next year and which will further develop bilateral relations.

Our government declaration of 1987 attributed central significance to these relations. General Secretary Gorbachev has talked about the fact that these relations are of key significance. This indicates that both sides place a high value on these relations not only on the bilateral level but also for the overall development of East-West relations. Of course, this lays special responsibility on both states. Therefore, during our talks in Moscow we

dealt not only with questions concerning bilateral relations but also with the state of affairs at the CSCE meeting in Vienna, as well as with problems facing current and future talks on disarmament questions.

[Zholkver] You mentioned the problem of disarmament. I saw a commentary in the West German press and also a statement by Woerner, the new NATO secretary general, who until recently was FRG defense minister, saying that NATO ought to get a move on about responding to the relevant proposals from the Warsaw Pact. What contribution could the FRG make to resolving disarmament questions?

[Genscher] The FRG has made a significant contribution to the development of the NATO stance on questions of stability in conventional weapons. The FRG and France advanced a joint initiative on this question at the NATO conference in the Canadian town of Halifax in 1986. In the NATO statement made in December of the same year, NATO expressed itself in favor of equality of armaments at the lowest possible level. We want the armed forces of both sides to exist only in the numbers necessary for defense, and we do not want them to be capable of undertaking widespread offensive operations. Therefore, we are also discussing the military doctrines of both sides. In this respect, we welcome the statement by the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact countries. The fact that this statement also takes into consideration the wishes of NATO heartens us regarding the future talks on reducing conventional weapons. Therefore, both sides must now make still greater efforts in order to ensure that a mandate on these talks is elaborated in Vienna.

[Zholkver] You started to talk about Vienna. It is well known that you are one of the ones who has tried to speed up the work of the Vienna meeting and in actual fact things have moved somewhat more quickly there. They now hold plenary sessions not once a week but every day, and it looks as if they are even ready to give up some of their summer vacation. How do you see the possible results of the Vienna meeting?

[Genscher] You probably remember that at one of the stages of the Stockholm conference on questions of security in Europe my French counterpart, Mr Dumas, and I went to Stockholm to give this conference new momentum. We have repeated this. On 1 July we presented a joint initiative at the Vienna meeting. Incidentally, this shows that cooperation between the FRG and France is of great importance not only for the unification of Western Europe in the framework of the European community, but also for giving new momentum to improving relations between East and West in Europe.

We would like the Vienna meeting to end with the adoption of an agreed substantive document. We can see that the Warsaw Pact states aspire to the same end. We would like to work out a mandate for talks on cutting conventional weapons in Europe, and in this regard we really must not waste time. Therefore, we welcome the fact that it really has been agreed that the summer break in the meeting will last not 2 months, but only 3 weeks. We very much welcomed the speech by the Soviet delegation favoring this decision, in order not to waste time.

[Zholkver] Not long before your visit, the FRG agriculture minister and a large group of West German industrialists were in Moscow. They discussed questions of further developing economic relations between our countries. What do the prospects seem like to you?

[Genscher] This subject played a large role both during my conversation with General Secretary Gorbachev and during the talks with my Soviet counterpart, Shevardnadze. We believe that the opportunities for our economic cooperation are by no means exhausted. On the contrary, there are still a lot of reserves here. It seems to me that the FRG, with its economy consisting not only of highly developed large enterprises, but also of numerous very flexible medium and small firms, with a high level of technology, could play an extensive part in resolving important questions of the development and modernization of the Soviet economy. We will do everything possible to see that the intentions which are there on both sides in this regard are put into practice.

In this regard, the recent visit to Moscow by the secretary of state for the FRG Economics Ministry, who is the coordinator of many large-scale programs, including ones in the area of aircraft construction and space research, was very useful.

[Zholkver] In conclusion, one more question, one which apparently affects everyone in our common European home. Recently people have been talking particularly urgently in the FRG, especially on the banks of the Rhine and the shores of the North Sea, about problems of protecting the environment. These problems are widely discussed in our country as well. What possibilities do you see for general European cooperation in the ecological sphere?

[Genscher] I think we must all be aware of our great responsibility for the future of mankind. You could even say without exaggeration for its survival. On the one hand, this means that we must make wars impossible between people. It means that we must have a policy of preventing wars and ensuring peace. We must rule out wars forever. Any wars. On the other hand, we must also end the war of man against nature. That means that we must jointly guarantee our vital demands. No single country is in a position to do this on its own. It must be done by all states together. We Europeans must realize that these problems cannot even be solved in Europe alone. It requires truly worldwide cooperation. The family of man lives in a society that can only survive together. If we are aware of this responsibility, this

responsibility to the present and to the future generations, we will be able to solve the problems that arise and devote all our efforts to the well-being of mankind.

[Zholkver] I wish us all success in this. Thank you very much for the interview.

Ends Talks, Urges Economic Ties

LD3107085288 Hamburg DPA in German 0745 GMT 31 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher hopes that Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl's visit to Moscow, which is planned for the end of October, will achieve concrete successes. In this context at a Moscow news conference Sunday at the conclusion of his 3-day talks in the Soviet Union, Genscher named bilateral economic questions as the most important area in which to achieve results. "We are hoping for as many concrete projects as possible before the visit," the minister said.

Genscher, who had met with his counterpart Eduard Shevardnadze and Soviet party leader Mikhail Gorbachev, again stressed the economic prospects which could open up for the USSR through the European internal market. This market was "open to those outside it and willing to cooperate." Concern that Europe would cut itself off was unjustified. "We do not want to use the stones we have gained through the dismantling of the walls within Europe for the construction of new walls outside it," Genscher delcared.

He expressly underlined Bonn and Moscow's interest in rapidly achieving a balanced and substantial concluding document with a mandate for the commencement of talks on conventional arms at the Vienna follow-up meeting of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). One had "gained more clarity" in the issue of weapons systems with multiple operational capability. "Questions of substance" must now be discussed with the alliance partners.

Seen Off by Shevardnadze

LD3107103688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 31 Jul 88

[Text] Hans-Dietrich Genscher, FRG federal vice chancellor and federal minister of foreign affairs, left Moscow today. He was in our country on a working visit at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

He was seen off at the airport by Comrade Shevardnadze and other officials.

Briefs Kohl in Vienna

LD0108184888 Moscow TASS in English 1809 GMT 1 Aug 88

[Text] Vienna August 1 TASS—By TASS correspondent Anatoliy Tyupayev:

Today there was a meeting between West German Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Hans-Dietrich Genscher, West German vice chancellor and foreign minister, in the Austrian resort town of St Gilgen (Salzburg land). The latter just returned from the Soviet Union where he had been received by Mikhail Gorbachev and had talks with Eduard Shevardnadze. Genscher informed Kohl who spends his summer holidays in St Gilgen, of the results of his talks in Moscow.

Speaking then to journalists, Helmut Kohl noted that he was "highly satisfied" with the results of this unusually successful visit, and also was extremely pleased with what Hans-Dietrich Genscher had achieved during the preparation for Kohl's visit to Moscow. From Bonn's point of view, Kohl's visit to the USSR and Gorbachev's visit to the FRG next year is a new chapter in German-Soviet relations, noted the head of the West German Government.

He expressed conviction that now there is an opportunity for opening a "new chapter" in these relations.

Helmust Kohl and Hans-Dietrich Genscher also noted that detente between the FRG and the USSR meant a considerable progress for relations between the East and the West as a whole. Touching on the results of his Moscow talks, Genscher pointed out that these very substantive negotiations had centred on questions of disarmament and stability in conventional weapons.

FRG Media View Visit

LD3107194088 Moscow TASS in English 1918 GMT 31 Jul 88

[Text] Bonn July 31 TASS—The reception by Mikhail Gorbachev in the Kremlin of FRG Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs Hans-Dietrich Genscher is in the focus of attention of the FRG's mass media.

The West German television has described the Gorbachev-Genscher meeting as a signal event. The general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, the anchorman of the ZDF programme emphasized, offered that the FRG join in the efforts for a successful completion of the Vienna meeting. Mikhail Gorbachev and Hans-Dietrich Genscher stressed the need for careful preparations for the visit to be paid in autumn by FRG Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl. The meeting, in the opinion of both sides, should cover all aspects—from economic issues to international topics. The key role was noted of the relations between the FRG and the Soviet Union in the package of East-West relations, ZDF noted.

One of the subjects of the conversation, the television programme stressed, was that of the prospects of the USSR home and foreign policy for the near future. The FRG minister for foreign affairs could convince himself of the seriousness of the Soviet intentions to carry on the implementation of the reforms.

The meeting in the Kremlin, the anchorman of the television program ARD said, also concerned Soviet-American relations. In so doing the West German minister for foreign affairs noted that the Europeans welcome any step towards cooperation, they would not wish to remain in the role of observers.

After the meeting Hans-Dietrich Genscher expressed satisfaction with its results and prospects of the forthcoming visit of FRG chancellor to the USSR. He told Western journalists, in particular, that he is confident of Moscow's true interest in closer cooperation with the FRG and Western Europe. The minister also said that during the visit of the West German chancellor to Moscow the two countries hope to sign agreements on cooperation in the fields of the economy, culture, and environmental protection.

The newspaper WELT AM SONNTAG said today: Talking with newsmen, the minister stressed that as a result of the development of Soviet-West German relations a state should be reached that would be irreversible.

Today Genscher is returning to Bonn and tomorrow he is to visit Chancellor Kohl, who is currently on holiday in Austria, to brief him on the results of the talks in Moscow.

Horst Telschik, head of the Foreign Policy Department of the Federal chancellor's office, said in a Hesse radio interview: The visit to be paid by Chancellor Helmut Kohl to Moscow in October may become a key moment in the development of West German-Soviet relations.

New York July 31 TASS—According to the ASSOCIATED PRESS AGENCY, the Soviet leader expressed concern during the conversation with the West German minister for foreign affairs about the fact that the West European plans for military and economic integration could hamper progress in the field of disarmament and security. Mikhail Gorbachev said that European politicians should be responsible for any frustration of positive initiatives in the field of disarmament and strengthening security. He noted that the European leaders should also take care not to torpedo the Helsinki process or the Soviet concept of "an all-European home" which provides for political and economic cooperation between all the European nations.

FRG Media Hopeful

PM0108160988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Aug 88 First Edition p 4

[Dispatch by own correspondent Yu. Yakhontov: "'Trust Bears Fruit'"]

[Text] Bonn, 1 Aug—"Relations between the FRG and the USSR are developing at a rapid speed of which even last year no one would have dared even to dream," the conservative West German newspaper DIE WELT notes, summing up the results of the visit to Moscow by FRG Deputy Federal Chancellor and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

Not only DIE WELT but also other mass media organs, including television and radio, are paying paramount attention to this event which, naturally, had at its center the meeting between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and the West German guest. "In his list of foreign policy priorities, Gorbachev," DIE WELT continues, "and of this there can be no doubt, has assigned an important place to good relations with the FRG."

The capital's newspaper GENERAL-ANZEIGER tells readers that in a talk with H.-D. Genscher, M.S. Gorbachev stressed the key role of relations between the two countries for the consolidation of peace and cooperation in Europe and as a whole for relations between East and West.

Citing the West German minister's impressions, the Moscow meetings are being called friendly and cordial. The hope is being expressed that they will promote the success of the forthcoming visit to Moscow by Federal Chancellor H. Kohl this October and then the meeting between the two countries' leaders in Bonn in the first half of next year.

Local observers note with satisfaction that the Soviet Union, while lending important significance to relations with the United States, by no means intends to drive a wedge between West Europe and its transatlantic partners. "Trust is bearing fruit," the Essen newspaper WESTDEUTSCHE ALLGEMEINE notes.

Of course, observers have not overlooked the complex questions which were discussed in Moscow and which in all probability will be the subject of conversation during the meeting between the two countries' leaders. It is a question of, for instance, West Berlin's place in the complex of FRG-USSR relations and European mutual relations as a whole, of the role of the internal West European market which is being created, and of this step's possible adverse consequences.

But however it may be, people here are noting that in Moscow "a common language for resolving important questions of principle" was found. And, the overwhelming majority of West Germans believe, this is the main thing which will make it possible to expand and deepen cooperation between the FRG and the USSR and to purge the European atmosphere of the deposits preventing the peoples from living in peace.

FRG Minister on Aircraft, Space Cooperation

LD0108085288 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2040 GMT 31 Jul 88

[Text] Bonn, 1 Aug (TASS)—TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Gulkin reports:

"Industrial and scientific-technological cooperation between the USSR and the FRG has gained fresh impetus and will develop successfully in a new sphere—aircraft construction and space research," Erich Riedl, state secretary of the FRG Ministry of Economic Affairs, stated in an interview with your TASS correspondent. He was heading a delegation of FRG business circles which has returned from a visit to the USSR.

This is the first time in the history of bilateral relations that such an authoritative group of officials from the leading FRG aircraft building and space concerns has been in Moscow with the specific aim of elucidating the opportunities for broad cooperation and technological exchange, he stressed. The result of the talks resulted in profound satisfaction among the members of our delegation, E. Riedl emphasized. The Soviet side displayed an exclusively businesslike and constructive approach, and during the discussions of prospects for cooperation there were practically no differences of opinion. And if the high professionalism of the Soviet partners in holding the talks does not in itself provoke surprise among Western business circles, the state secretary said, then the visit to Zaporozhye aircraft engine works was a real surprise for the representatives of our concerns. The visit forced them to look again at the level of aircraft technological development and engine manufacture in the Soviet Union, and to considerably adjust their outmoded ideas. It is now clearly a matter of cooperation by equal partners.

As for space technology, here comment is superfluous, E. Riedl said. The USSR is an acknowledged leader and legislator in this sphere.

During the talks, spheres of cooperation were mapped out. Working groups will start defining specific joint projects shortly. All parties stand to gain—FRG business circles, the USSR's economy, and the population of our countries overall, E. Riedl stressed. Incorporation of advanced technologies in daily life means lowering noise levels and pollution of the environment, and in the final count concern for the health of each member of society. This cooperation will also be a contribution to the general improvement of Soviet-West German relations and will help strengthen mutual trust.

Turkish Ambassador Leaves Moscow 27 Jul

PM0108114988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] Oktay Cankardes, Turkish ambassador to the USSR, left Moscow 27 July.

Soviet Ship To Visit Istanbul 1-5 Aug

LD2907172388 Moscow TASS in English 1654 GMT 29 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 29 TASS—A Soviet training ship, the Smolny, will call at Istanbul port for an official friendly visit from August 1 to 5, under an agreement reached by the sides.

The visit will be headed by Vice Admiral Viktor Buynov.

Dobrynin Receives Irish CP Leader

LD0108153388 Moscow TASS in English 1357 GMT 1 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 1 TASS—Anatoliy Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committe, and James Stewart, general secretary of the Communist Party of Ireland [CPI], today exchanged views on a broad range of international issues.

They also discussed issues of the further development and consolidation of contacts between the CPSU and the CPI.

Dobrynin described the work of the 19th nationwide CPSU conference, stressing the significance of its decisions, and the results of the July, 1988 plenary meeting of the party Central Committee.

Steward informed Dobrynin about specifics of the present-day situation in Ireland and the activity of the Irish Communists.

The sides reaffirmed the reciprocal aspiration of the Soviet and Irish Communists to strengthen the truly fraternal relations that exist between the CPSU and the CPI.

Political Consultations With Norway End

LD2907234188 Moscow TASS in English 1859 GMT 29 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 29 TASS—Two-day Soviet-Norwegian political consultations ended here today. They were held by USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy and Norway's permanent Deputy Foreign Minister Kjolv Vibe. International problems, including questions connected with the coming 43rd session of the United Nations General Assembly were discussed during the consultations. There has been an exchange of opinions about the further development of a dialogue on shaping the system of comprehensive security. Understanding has been achieved on questions of strengthening cooperation in the area of ecological security, wider use of U.N. peace-keeping operations, the enhancement of the effectiveness of the United Nations main bodies. Prospects for the further development of Soviet-Norwegian relations have also been disscussed.

Norway's ambassador to the USSR Olav Bucher-Johannessen and USSR Ambassador to Norway Aleksandr Teterin took part in the consultations.

Juice Processing Venture Set Up With Italy

PM0108110588 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 28 Jul 88 p 1

[Report by G. Yablonskiy, senior editor of the Odessa Oblast department of "Ukrinformagroprom": "Italians in Odessa"]

[Text] In fact, Italians and enterprising guests from many other countries have readily visited the glorious Black Sea city ever since it was founded. It is not for nothing that the figure of the most businesslike ancient god—Mercury—stands on Odessa's city hall.

And here is a fresh example of contacts under his auspices. Representatives of the Italian firms of Sasib, Olivetti, Manzini, Contrading, and others belonging to the Cir concern sat round a negotiating table with V.M. Voronin, chief of the new equipment subdepartment of the USSR Gosagroprom's Food Industry Department; R.V. Guliyev, deputy chairman of Odessa Oblast Agro-Industrial Committee; and G.F. Shelkovnikov, general director of the local "Pishchepromavtomatika" Science-and-Production Association. The said table belongs to "Pishchepromavtomatika." Why was it chosen as the venue for the talks?

"It was the Italian guests' wish," Grigoriy Fedorovich Shelkovnikov replied. "Serious business people always strive to find a partner from whom they can profitably acquire interesting, promising innovations. And Odessa's 'Pishchepromavtomatika' has them, patented in many countries. I am sure that the measuring and automation equipment and also individual components produced by our firm will very soon reach Italy on the basis of barter trade."

Let us remind you that barter is the mutually advantageous exchange of goods without currency. Tit for tat, as people in Odessa say....

When the 2 days of strenuous negotiations were over, Mario Maestroni, Sasib's director of strategic planning and development and leader of the Italian delegation, kindly agreed to give an interview.

"How did the idea of cooperation with Soviet firms come about?" Signor Mario, young, vigorous, and smiling, repeated. "After attentive familiarization with the plans and affairs of your restructuring, our partners in the Odessa talks also made a good impression on us. There will be a common venture...."

"What kind, if it is not a secret?"

"There are no secrets. Ours is a very peaceful business. We supply high-quality fruit and vegetable juices to almost all West Europeans and many Americans. There is a real possibility of achieving an abundance of juices in the USSR too. Under the protocol which has been signed, we intend to set up together with your Gosagroprom and 'Pishchepromavtomatika' the first joint industrial enterprise for processing grapes, apples, and tomatoes. The Italian part of the necessary equipment will be supplied on the barter principle in 1989. We have already carried out a testing of possible raw materials in Odessa Oblast, where it is planned to set up the plant. It is better than the Italian stuff, you know!"

"To where will you export your part of the joint output?"

"From Bologna, where our firm is located, to Oslo and on across the ocean. Our business is already valued at $300 million a year, and the Odessa-Italian barter will develop our entire concern further. Thanks for the cooperation!"

French Communist Party Culture Group Visits

PM0108142388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Aug 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Familiarization With Experience"]

[Text] A French Communist Party [PCF] delegation headed by B. Vasser [name as published], member of the PCF Central Committee and deputy chief of the PCF Central Committee Culture Department, visited the Soviet Union 25 through 31 July within the framework of CPSU-PCF interparty ties. It familiarized itself with the CPSU's work experience in the cultural sphere under conditions of restructuring.

The delegation had talks at the CPSU Central Committee Culture Department, the USSR Writers Union and Cinematographers Union, the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, and newspaper and journal editorial offices and with Soviet cultural and art figures.

The PCF delegation made a trip to Leningrad, where it was received at the CPSU Obkom.

Latin America & Caribbean

Shultz' Central American Talks Assessed

LD0108142488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 1 Jul 88

[From the "International Diary" program, presented by Viktor Shcherbakov and correspondent in New York Vladimir Gerasichev]

[Excerpts] [Shcherbakov] The U.S. secretary of state today begins the second round of his talks with foreign ministers of the countries of Central America—Honduras, Costa Rica, El Salvador, and Guatemala—in the Guatemalan capital. Our New York correspondent Vladimir Gerasichev discusses the aims of this visit.

[Gerasichev] The White House makes no secret of the fact that Secretary of State George Shultz is going to Central America with but one purpose in mind: to achieve the isolation of Nicaragua. The State Department prepared in good time a communique on the meeting between Shultz and the leaders of the four Central American countries, and the secretary of state's special emissary, Maurice Busby, toured the capitals of those states in the hope of knocking together an anti-Nicaraguan alliance and persuading the participants of the meeting to agree to the document prepared in Washington.

Meanwhile, in Guatemala the Americans intended to pass it off as an initiative by the Central American states. But something went wrong. After it emerged that the text of the future communique would contain—as THE NEW YORK TIMES wrote—what amounted to a declaration of war against Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Guatemala refused to sign the document. If we sign this communique, said one of the official representatives of Guatemala, we'll be admitting that our foreign policy is dictated by Washington. An assistant to the president of Costa Rica declared even more emphatically: Costa Rica will sign nothing that would isolate, condemn, or put pressure on Nicaragua. [passage omitted]

Thus, while paying lip service to their desire for peace in Central America, the White House is in fact trying to get the Central American states to agree to wreck the truce in Nicaragua and allow the contras to renew their piratical attacks. Another fact showing the anti-Nicaraguan tendency of the meeting in Guatemala is that the Nicaraguan leaders haven't been invited to it.

And there seems to be another hidden purpose to Shultz' visit to Guatemala. If he succeeds in getting attacks on Nicaragua included in the communique and creating at least a semblance that the leaders of the Central American countries approve of them, then the White House will find it easier to wrest from its legislators allocations of new millions of dollars to support the contras.

U.S., Contra Approach to Nicaragua Condemned

PM2907152188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
29 Jul 88 Second Edition p 7

[PRAVDA political observer Vitaliy Korionov article "Viewpoint": "Central America: Who Is Blocking a Settlement?"]

[Text] In an attempt to reduce tension, which has once again grown acute in Central America, the Nicaraguan Government has taken a few more steps in recent days testifying to its goodwill. It announced a 1-month extension, to 31 August, of the temporary halt in offensive operations against the contras. This measure should have made it easier for the leaders of the counterrevolutionary formations to accept the government's proposals to continue the talks in Managua 26 July to finally achieve a cease-fire.

But the contra representatives did not appear at the talks. Their response was quite significant: The counterrevolutionary forces stepped up their armed sorties, clearly aiming to provoke the Sandinist People's Army into armed operations in order to wreck completely the process for a peaceful solution to the crisis. The contras and their patrons clearly want to impose an escalation of armed aggression on the countries of Central America. New methods and means are being launched to prevent a political solution to the regional conflict in this part of the world. These are coordinated efforts.

I recall that at the beginning of July, the U.S. secretary of state, passing by Nicaragua, visited Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, and Costa Rica. Well-known U.S. journalist Mary McGrory wrote at that time in THE WASHINGTON POST: "George Shultz' tour of Central America raises the question: Why did he go there? The fact that Shultz was accompanied by his assistant Elliott Abrams testifies in the best possible way that their visit to the region was by no means part of a search for peace."

Precisely what the prominent visitors were seeking began to emerge in recent weeks. The contras wrecked the talks with Managua. An assembly of the so-called "Nicaraguan democratic opposition," meaning the contras' military and political leadership, took place in Santo Domingo. The press wrote a great deal about how this assembly was being held in the context of a worsening squabble for power among the counterrevolutionary leaders. This, however, was not the main point. During the "elections," the directorate members who, for whatever reason, were inclined toward agreement with the Nicaraguan Government were dismissed from the leadership. The "waverers" were replaced by the introduction of the most pugnacious "hawks" into the directorate. The "war party" gained the upper hand.

Meanwhile, a proposal was introduced in the Washington Congress to grant the contras military and so-called "nonlethal" assistance amounting to $47 million. Talks have been called for 1 August in Guatemala between G. Shultz and the foreign ministers of that country, Costa Rica, Honduras, and El Salvador. So, they are once again trying to isolate Nicaragua. It is clear what Washington has in mind if only from the recent statement in San Jose by Maurice Busby, the U.S. President's special representative in Central America, that was carried by PRENSA LATINA. He publicly announced that Washington wanted the foreign ministers of Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, and Costa Rica to recognize as legal (!) the interference of the U.S. Embassy in Managua in Nicaragua's internal affairs. As is known, this interference took on such cynical forms that the Nicaraguan Government was recently forced to show the U.S. ambassador in Managua the door.

However, whatever unworthy tricks the opponents of the peace settlement plan resort to, the Nicaraguan Government is declaring its determination to search for a

reconciliation that accords with the interests of the other Central American countries, the Contadora states, all Latin Americans, as well as the interests of international peace.

U.S. Aid to Honduras, Contras Criticized

PM0208150188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent V. Silantyev dispatch: "Banking on Military Pressure"]

[Text] Mexico City—News agencies in Honduras report that three state-of-the-art supersonic U.S. F-5E fighters have landed at a military base on the country's eastern seaboard.

This is the second consignment of modern jet warplanes to have entered the Honduran Air Force, which is already considered the strongest in Central America. Thus, with the blessing of Washington politicians and with the help of the Pentagon's military officials, the strengthening of the Honduran Armed Forces continues. Honduras is a country which borders Nicaragua and from whose territory, as is well known, the contras carry out bandit raids. If one bears in mind that Nicaragua has no supersonic jet fighters, this means that a direct threat to the land of Sandino is being created, not to mention the fact that the policy of an arms build-up in any Central American country runs directly counter to the well-known Guatemala agreements on a peaceful regional settlement.

However, it seems that in Washington, the upper hand is held not by diplomatic methods of resolving conflict situations in Central America, but rather by military means and strong-arm pressure. This is evinced by cases such as the strengthening of the position within the contra leadership of former Somozista Colonel Bermudez and his sabotaging of Managua's proposals to resume talks on a final cease-fire.

On the other hand, barely 1 day after Bermudez' appointment as leader of contra military operations, Republican J. Kemp submitted a bill in the House of Representatives on appropriations for the Nicaraguan counterrevolution to the tune of $30 million for arms and more than $27 million for humanitarian aid. This clearly aggressive act was carried out on the eve of U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz' visit to Guatemala for a conference of the foreign ministers of all Central American states except Nicaragua. The exclusion of the latter demonstrates that the conference will not be about peace, because the country without which a settlement is impossible will not be participating in the talks.

U.S., Honduran Military Exercises Begin

LD0108090388 Moscow TASS in English 0619 GMT 1 Aug 88

[Text] Havana August 1 TASS—According to reports from Honduras, joint military American-Honduran exercises, code-named General Jose Santos Guardiola-88, have begun there. Land and air forces of Honduras and a U.S. infantry battalion are involved in the exercises being held in the Morazan Department.

Over a thousand American troops were air-lifted from California (the USA) to Honduras for the exercises.

Alleged U.S. Anti-Noriega Efforts Condemned

'Covert Operations' Planned

PM0108140988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Dispatch by own correspondent A. Blinov: "U.S.-Panama: Secret Plan"]

[Text] Washington—U.S. interference in Panamanian affairs continues. THE WASHINGTON POST reports that President Reagan has endorsed a plan for covert operations aimed at ousting Panama's military leader, General Noriega.

It is reported that the plan was discussed in advance by Panamanian opposition figures E. Delvalle and J. Sosa. The former was removed from the country's presidency by Panama's Legislative Assembly, although he continues to be regarded as the legitimate head of state by the United States. He was in hiding for several months at U.S. military bases in the Panana Canal. He was then taken to New York. J. Sosa is former Panamanian ambassador to Washington and is also now on the Washington payroll.

Since June last year the United States has been mounting one action after another against Panama. After stopping its aid programs to the country, the White House decided to freeze Panamanian assets in U.S. banks. U.S. companies operating in Panama were forbidden to pay taxes to that country's government. Measures to restrict trade with Panama were also taken. All this has seriously complicated Panama's economic situation and created difficulties in supplying the population. The goal, however, has not been achieved. Panamanians have spurned Washington's importunings.

Given this, it was decided to switch to covert actions, which, as is well known, are chiefly carried out by the CIA. According to the press, a plan endorsed by the President has been agreed with by Congress. Its details have not been disclosed to date.

'Intervention' Anticipated

PM0208074988 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 Jul 88 First Edition p 3

[V. Vinogradov "Military-Political Commentary": "Repulsive 'Coffins Policy'"]

[Text] A highly unusual cargo was delivered some time ago to U.S. military bases in the Panama Canal Zone. It consisted of 5,000... coffins and a corresponding number of plastic bags for bodies. Obviously, the Panamanian newspaper CRITICA writes when reporting this fact, this is the figure Pentagon strategists have set for the possible number of U.S. servicemen who might be killed in the event of an armed invasion of Panama. The sum which the U.S. Defense Department has calculated such an operation might cost—$1.9 billion—is also known. But these are only plans. Meanwhile, in the past 3 months the Pentagon has increased its military contingent in the Canal Zone by 3,000 men, bringing it up to 15,000 servicemen.

So Washington is raising its mailed fist increasingly menacingly over Panama. And that cannot fail to generate the gravest fears. Especially because, as is clear from the copy of a secret U.S. National Security Council document published by the Panamanian newspapers, back in 1986 a session of this council adopted a special plan for actions aimed against Panama. "Our aim," this U.S. document says, "is to destabilize the situation in Panama without, however, jeopardizing our presence and influence there, and to obtain legal grounds for canceling the treaties concerning the Panama Canal. We need a policy which will guarantee our control over the canal even after the year 2000."

That is the whole point. After all, under the 1977 Torrijos-Carter treaty the United States must eliminate its military bases in the Panama Canal Zone by the year 2000.

Hence the unprecedentedly large-scale pressure on Panama from the United States, which has been continuing for over a year now. The most diverse means have been put into play, including means of an economic nature aimed at destablilizing the political and socioeconomic situation in the country. Here is just one of Washington's recent steps of this kind. The United States recently illegally ceased paying Panama its due share of the profit from the canal's operation. It also stopped the payment of wages to local employees in the Panama Canal Commission and at U.S. military establishments.

Of course, Panama understands what Washington is seeking. Commenting on the United States' actions, A. Aleman Boyd, president of the Panamanian Parliament, stresses that its far-reaching strategic aim is clear: to achieve from Panama a revision of the treaty on the canal in order to preserve on a long-term basis its military presence in a region of such importance to the Pentagon; and to use the country as a bridgehead for undertaking aggression against other states if necessary.

But the Panamanian people are courageously countering the coercion and pressure from their powerful northern neighbor. And this is generating mounting bitterness in the U.S. capital. People there are discussing increasingly frequently the question of the possibility of armed intervention to resolve the "Panama problem" in U.S. interests. As one high-ranking spokesman for the Washington administration stated: "I do not want to predict it, and I do not want it to happen but obviously matters are moving in the direction of intervention." And in an interview with the local newspaper LA NACION D. Hinton, U.S. ambassador to Costa Rica, stated that the White House by no means rules out U.S. armed intervention in Panama. At the same time the U.S. Southern Command, whose headquarters are in the Canal Zone, has markedly galvanized the activity of the troops at its disposal. According to THE WASHINGTON POST, the command has increased the number of exercises in the zone and has begun to implement "more aggressive patrolling and other show of strength methods." Now, as we can see, matters have even gotten to the point of importing coffins.

General Noriega, commander in chief of Panama's National Defense Forces, whose resignation Washington is strenuously seeking, has stated that as long as U.S. political and economic aggression against Panama continues, the settlement of the Panamanian-U.S. crisis is extremely difficult. As for the mounting military threat from Washington, the general added, it will undoubtedly force the Panamanian people to rally even more strongly to resist a U.S. diktat.

'Overthrow' Operations Cited

PA3007204588 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Spanish 0000 GMT 30 Jul 88

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Weakened by insolent Yankee pressure, Panama apparently has once again been detected by Washington's political radar. THE WASHINGTON POST reported that Reagan ordered new secret operations to overthrow General Manuel Antonio Noriega, commander in chief of the Panama Defense Forces [FDP].

U.S. executive branch and congressional sources cited by the newspaper refused to reveal the contents of the new seditious plan, stating that the Senate and House of Representatives committees are already aware of it.

It was affirmed that no military action against Panama is being considered in the near future. It is understood that the latter is a disinformational trap with which to deceive the Panamanian general into a false sense of security. Washington has now been battling Gen Noriega

for more than 1 year. It was also revealed that in the next few months, the United States will study all available means to overthrow Noriega.

Why has Noriega been declared an enemy of the United States who must definitely be eliminated? Contrary to Washington's other plots, there is no secret about this. The FDP and its commander in chief are the principal obstacles to U.S. attempts to revise the 1977 Panama Canal treaties, which provide for the return of the canal to Panama in the year 2000. It is this treaty that U.S. hegemonic circles cannot accept, labeling it as a betrayal of their country's vital interests.

Right now we are apparently witnessing another phase in the political and military siege of the sovereign state of Panama, a seige disguised for who knows what [words indistinct]. Whatever it is, Washington does not suffer from any shortage of hypocrisy.

Brazilian Navy Ship To Visit Leningrad

PM0208150588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Aug 88 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Training Ship's Visit"]

[Text] In accordance with a previous agreement, the Brazilian Navy's training ship "Brazil," which is commanded by Captain 1st Rank Antonio Carlos de Assis Pacheco, will pay an official friendly visit to Leningrad 4-7 August.

Political & Social

PRAVDA Editorial Comments on CPSU Plenum

PM0108134588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Aug 88 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Time of Actions and Specific Deeds. These Alone Will Make Restructuring Irreversible"]

[Text] We are living and working under the deep impression of the 19th all-union party conference, which was a very important political landmark in restructuring. It illumined all spheres of our existence like a powerful searchlight. A truthful picture of what we have already achieved at this stage opened up more distinctly before us, and what has to be done—urgently, moreover—stood out more clearly.

Time brooks no delay. Not to drag our feet and bide our time but to react more keenly to shortcomings and blunders and act decisively, eliminating all barriers and obstacles in the way of our progress—this is the party's bidding to us. This resounded with new force from the rostrum of the recent CPSU Central Committee plenum, which examined the question "On Practical Work To Implement the Decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference."

"In pondering once again the results of the conference and the debate," M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, said in the report at the plenum, "we must, comrades, firmly make up our mind to make a decisive shift toward practical deeds."

There is no denying that previously words were frequently at variance with deeds. Relapses into old mistakes are inadmissible today. What is needed is action, control over the fulfillment of adopted decisions, and strict responsibility for one's actions, as well as for inaction. This is an immutable party law, and party cadres are obliged, it was emphasized at the plenum, to apply it primarily to themselves. Only practical actions to realize the political guidelines formulated by the conference will make restructuring irreversible.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo submitted to the plenum a package of plans taking account of the conference participants' proposals. They concern, above all, food, trade, consumer goods, and services—which directly affects people and concerns their everyday needs and cares. The maximum attention was devoted to realizing the proposals and criticisms expressed by delegates.

The plenum attached special significance to the upcoming report and election campaign in the party. This would appear to be something ordinary, for reports and elections are held regularly. However, there is every reason to maintain now that the report and election campaign will be unlike all previous ones. It is to take place at the highest level, continuing the discussion begun at the 19th party conference with the same principled approach, responsibility, and businesslike efficiency. This means that party meetings and conferences must be held democratically and with glasnost, and all regimentation must be ruled out, opening up broad scope for objective assessments of the state of affairs and of all questions of concern to people.

Elections of leading party organs will also now be held in a new way. For it is exceptionally important to determine from principled positions who is to be entrusted with the leadership of party organizations at a crucial stage of restructuring. It is intended to put into practice right now the procedure recommended by the conference for nominating and discussing candidacies, to include on the voting papers for secret ballot a larger number of candidates than there are seats, and to ensure the right to nominate from below candidacies for higher committees.

The all-union party conference sharply raised the question of delimiting the functions of party, state, and economic organs. Precisely this gave rise to the practical steps taken by the CPSU Central Committee plenum to improve the structure and activity of the party apparatus. What is intended? Above all, the principle of keeping the apparatus strictly subordinate and accountable to the party's elected organs. Freed from administrative economic functions, it is to concentrate its work in key areas of domestic and foreign policy and shift the center of gravity to political methods of leadership. This will be reflected in both the structure and the cadre composition of the apparatus. It must be highly competent and considerably smaller in size than it is now.

Naturally, questions of making correct use of the workers released will arise. Trained cadres are concentrated in the party apparatus. The most efficient use must be made of their knowledge and experience in the interests of society and, of course, with due regard for the wishes of the released comrades themselves.

Restructuring the soviets' activity is a most important task of the political reform. After the elections in the party we are to hold elections of USSR people's deputies and reorganize the country's top state organs and organs of power in the republics, krays, oblasts, okrugs, cities, rayons, and settlements and in rural localities. And all this in 1 year. Of course, it will take a lot of work to implement such large-scale measures. It was in just this connection that the plenum deemed it expedient to set up a special CPSU Central Committee commission. It will prepare a number of substantial additions and amendments to the Constitution, to legislation on elections, and to certain other legislative acts and submit them for examination to the upcoming USSR Supreme Soviet session. The plenum deemed it necessary for the commission to rely in its work on the opinions of scientists, practical workers, and the broadest public.

In short, a great deal has to be thought through in depth and properly substantiated. It is important to grant voters the right to a real choice both at the stage of discussing and nominating candidacies and at the voting stage. One-third of the total number of USSR people's deputies will now be elected directly from public organizations. It is proposed to draft a law on local self-management and the local economy which will strengthen local soviets in the legal respect and the material-financial respect. There must be a single approach here, as pointed out at the plenum: Everything that can be decided locally must be under the local soviet's jurisdiction.

The legal reform and a number of other urgent measures in the sphere of state building and interethnic relations are closely linked with the democratization of the soviets' activity. Here the plenum also defined a clear-cut action program.

Whatever is being discussed, the person and concern for his well-being and needs have been and still are at the center of attention.

Take the food question. The plenum called it a fundamental socioeconomic question of principled importance. Urgent and cardinal measures of both a current and a long-term nature are needed to resolve it. We know that this year's weather has thrown up serious trials for farmers in a number of regions. The most urgent task now is to gather in full, preserve, and make rational use of the harvest that has been grown. This is the center of gravity of all work this year.

And in the long term, on which the richness of our food table particularly depends? The essence of the reply heard at the plenum is that practical measures to strengthen the material base of the countryside must, at the same time, be reinforced by corresponding work to change economic relations here. The purpose is to open up broad scope for the producers' independence and responsibility and develop the agricultural market in every possible way.

Much was said, in particular, about such a form of running agriculture as the long-term leasing of land and other means of production with full independence for the lessees. The accumulated experience attests that lease relations make it possible to realize more fully the potential of socialist ownership and that they help to ensure both society's interests and incentives for highly productive and efficient work. And not just incentives of a material order. A person is enabled to reveal and realize his abilities in practice, to reveal his creative potential, and to prove himself. And precisely this is the essence of the current transformations.

The results which people working on a family contract and a lease contract achieve on the same and sometimes even a worse material base are convincing. But why are these progressive economic management methods still entering life with such difficulty? Why is there so much idle talk and all kinds of brakes and obstacles around them? After resolutely condemning such an approach to new forms of production relations in the countryside, the plenum set the task of removing obstacles in the way of their application everywhere. This is a task for the whole people. Its resolution is not just a wish but a demand dictated by the very logic of our development at the stage of restructuring.

The pace of the countryside's social development must be increased right now. Living conditions there need to be improved significantly. We must also see to the great development of private subsidiary plots, moreover with new incentives and on contract principles.

Discussing the question of how to accelerate the growth of goods and services for the population, the plenum pointed out that the main path here is clear. It is the creation of a strong consumer goods industry within a shortened timeframe. It is also a question of the accelerated modernization of many light and food industry enterprises as a result of importing equipment and of the broader involvement of heavy industry and the defense sectors in consumer goods production.

All this is inseparably linked also with improving the distribution system and, above all, with trade and public catering. We know how many problems have accumulated here. And the resolution of far from all of these questions requires additional financial and material investments. Waiting lines have really become the scourge of our daily life. People are tired of them, for lines sometimes form even for goods that are not at all scarce. The matter is organized simply disgracefully. Many people in the services sphere simply consider a disrespectful, callous attitude toward people to be normal. It is time to put an end to this, the plenum stated.

A great deal in our life depends on the successful implementation of the radical economic reform. It is known to be slipping in a number of sectors. What is up? The plenum drew attention to opposition from inert, conservative forces: Such people must be removed from leading work more quickly. But certain economic measures also have to be implemented. It is proposed, let us say, to introduce a statute on the state order, to ensure an improvement in the national economy's financial health, to improve the system of production management, and to restructure relations between enterprises and soviets.

Having tackled affairs on a historic scale, we cannot manage them successfully without comprehending the past and the present and forecasting the main trends of society's development in the future. Hence the importance of work in the sphere of ideology. The plenum emphasized that there can be no slacking or lagging here. Party organizations are obliged to see the whole scale and complexity of the tasks associated with the theoretical and ideological front and to conduct this work persistently and purposefully every day.

The action program facing us is very strenuous. Fundamental changes are needed in all sectors of the renewal of society, and primarily in resolving the urgent problems of life for the Soviet people. This is the chief duty of every party organization and every Communist.

Moscow Rally Debates Plenum Outcome

LD0108181088 Moscow TASS in English 1800 GMT 1 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 1 TASS—A rally of Muscovites who assembled to express their view points concerning the outcome of the plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee and the recent party conference lasted for two hours Sunday.

The newspaper IZVESTIYA reports today that the rally held outside the Olympic Center in Peace Avenue, a major thoroughfare of the Soviet capital, involved about a thousand people.

The participants in the rally hotly debated the prospects for forging the process to democratize society. "Possibly, some speeches could seem unhabitually sharp and some slogans - uncustomarly scathing. We will get accustomed to them too", the newspaper notes.

"Today our life itself gives the floor to those who have what to say, propose and do. But it does not tolerate idle talk. And here, in the open dialogue, the worth of everyone it is seen best of all".

People Support Delegate Critical of Gorbachev

LD0208052288 Moscow TASS in English 0423 GMT 2 Aug 88

[Text] Stavropol (North Caucasus), August 2—TASS correspondent Nikolay Styazhkin writes:

Viktor Postnikov, who enjoyed high prestige among his workmates, has carried even more weight after the all-union party conference. "We saw the same old Postnikov as we knew him at the farm or in the shop," workers of the "Stavropolsokoye" broiler production association, the largest in southern Russia, said after watching their director speaking at the recent 19th party conference in the Kremlin. Postnikov criticised in his speech Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, for being too lenient towards bureaucrats.

The straightforward and candid ways which characterise Postnikov, who heads the first cost-accounting agricultural enterprise in northern Caucasus, help him to win the confidence of the people for the second decade now. The people are convinced: If Postnikov says something, then it is really so. Everybody knows that he insisted on putting the "Stavropolskoye" association on cost-accounting basis at a time when the principle was "frowned upon" and shunned by practically everybody.

The striving of the clever director to become independent way back in the stagnation period was backed by the then first secretary of the Stavropol Territory CPSU Committee, Mikhail Gorbachev. That the association exists was largely due to their efforts. Dubbed a test range for trying out new methods, the association is credited with pioneering the forms and methods of management which are being applied today nationwide.

Figures are the best indices to judge the results of its performance. Ten years ago "Stavropolskoye" produced 11,000 tons of poultry a year. The figure now is 78,000 tons of meat which brings it 40 million roubles in profits. "Mind you," Postnikov reminds, "All poultry farms, comprising our association, were making losses..."

But this is not the main thing. Before, the poultry farms produced a semifinished product - poultry measured in body weight. The association currently processes a third of its broilers. ("So far, only a third", the director explains). It sells sausages, sets for making delicacies, canned food...This will help to make better use of the raw materials, to cut down on production costs, to satisfy the new requirements of the customer and to increase profits.

"It is not simple to break with the extensive methods of management. It is more like kicking a bad habit—hard but very useful," Viktor Postnikov says. "On getting rid ourselves from the departmental impediments, we, for example, have decided to trade ourselves by setting up our own network of shops. There are eight such shops in Stavropol territory and one in Moscow. Another four shops will open in Moscow before the end of this year and six more are planned next year...I am convinced that with associations spreading everywhere, our example will catch on."

The general director says that after receiving the right to deal on the foreign market, the association established direct links with several foreign partners: Effen of the Federal Republic of Germany, Agromit from Austria and Denmark's Poljai. This has an added advantage of being able to import equipment and utilise wastes with profit. The Danish firm, for example, is buying feather and nap.

Viktor Postnikov hates formalism, but can argue and appreciates good argument. During his speech at the All-Union CPSU Conference, Mikhail Gorbachev, who was criticised for leniency towards bureaucrats, objected saying that he was far from lenient. He simply did not think it more right to deal with every single bureaucrat on case-by-case basis. "I am for creating such economic relations which would exclude bureaucrats," the Soviet leader said.

"I agree, you made me change my mind. This is more important," the "Stavropolskoye" director immediately agreed.

Operation of Co-Op Taxation Decree Suspended

LD2907220988 Moscow TASS in English 2125 GMT 29 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 29 TASS—The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet (parliament) of the USSR today suspended the operation of its decree on the taxation of members of cooperatives.

The decree adopted in March this year evoked acute criticism of the public. First, it was complained that the legislators discussed this important decision without a preliminary public debate. Second, economists, sociologists and cooperators themselves were unanimous in the view that a high level of taxation on indivudual incomes of cooperators (up to 90 per cent) will nip the cooperative movement in the bud.

At the session of the Soviet parliament held in May of this year, the deputies have not endorsed the decree on the taxation of cooperators. It was intended to work out a lower scale of taxes. It was expected to come into operation since the second half of this year. But this has not happened. A new draft of a decree on the taxation of cooperators was recently discussed at a meeting of the Soviet Government with the participation of scientists and cooperators and was deemed unsatisfactory. The work will be continued.

The old scale of taxes usually operates before the new one comes into effect. This time the legislators heeding the opinion of the public decided to suspend the operation of the March decree so as not to burden members of cooperatives with inordinately high payments. Members of agricultural cooperatives, as well as of cooperatives functioning in the spheres of production and services, will temporarily be paying taxes on individual incomes, as of July, on the same scale as workers of the state sector.

As to cooperatives, throughout the first year since their formation they pay taxes on their incomes in the amount of 2-3 per cent, during the second year 3-5 per cent and in the subsequent years—10 per cent. It should be noted once again that the total income of a cooperative, not personal incomes of members of the cooperative, is meant in this case.

Azerbaijani, Armenian First Secretaries Meet

LD0208100888 Moscow TASS in English 0958 GMT 2 Aug 88

[Text] Stepanakert August 2 TASS—A meeting of the first secretaries of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia Soren Arutyunan was held today in Stepanakert, the centre of Nagorno-Karabakh, an autonomous region in Azerbaijan. Taking part in the meeting was Arkadiy Volskiy, representative of the CPSU Central Committee and the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The leaders of the party organisations of the two republics exchanged views on questions of fulfilling the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee, the presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Council of Ministers of the USSR on Nagorno-Karabakh.

The first secretary of the Nagorno-Karabakh Regional Party Committee Genrikh Pogosyan spoke about the situation in the region, ways of improving public life and strengthening the role of party organisations in these processes.

It was noted at the meeting that numerous shortcomings and difficulties have accumulated in the autonomous region. This requires the adoption of exhaustive measures to rectify the obtaining situation.

It is impermissible that the decisions adopted by the party and the government are so far being fulfilled in an unsatisfactory manner by union ministries and agencies, by republican and regional bodies. In this connection a number of constructive proposals were worked out to ensure a fuller utilisation of the possibilities of both republics to accelerate the social, economic and cultural development of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region.

In solving these questions the republican party organisations of Azerbaijan and Armenia will work in close cooperation, in the spirit of perestroyka, will proceed from the fundamental interests of both peoples, all Soviet people and will guide themselves by the provisions of Mikhail Gorbachev's address to the workers and the peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia.

During the stay in Stepanakert there were meetings and conversations with the local working people.

Death Sentence on Kazakh Student Rioter Commuted

AU0208105088 Paris AFP in English 1021 GMT 2 Aug 88

[Text] Alma Ata, Soviet Union, Aug 2 (AFP)—A student due to be executed for killing a man during nationalist riots here has had his sentence commuted to long-term imprisonment by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, Kazakhstan Prime Minister Nursultan Nazarbayev said here Tuesday.

K. Ryskulbekov, a first-year architecture student, was handed a death sentence for murdering a police volunteer and attacking a militiaman during violence which erupted in this Soviet Central Asian city in December 1986.

The Presidium has commuted the sentence to a long period in jail, the republic's prime minister said at a news conference without specifying the length of imprisonment or when the decision was made.

The Presidium acts as the supreme state authority between sessions of the Supreme Soviet, the country's highest legislative organ.

Riots broke out here after Moscow named a Russian, Gennadiy Kolbin, to replace a local man, Dinmukhamed Kunaev, as Communist Party head in the Soviet Central Asian republic of Kazakhstan. Official figures said two people were killed, while Western diplomats put the figure at several dozen.

Nagorno-Karabakh Prosecutor's Office on Arrests
PM0108150788 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 31 Jul 88 p 3

[Special correspondent L. Tsvetskov dispatch "Rumors Versus What Is Actually Happening"]

[Text] Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast—Toward evening the "Ikarus" buses come to a halt in a square in Stepanakert. In the morning they are off again. Bus connections with Yerevan and Baku have been restored. The huge cluster of railroad trucks at the station is melting away—unloading is proceeding apace. There are few people in the streets during the day. On Friday the number of people back at work reached the norm. The city's labor life is returning to normal. However, it is far from tranquil. People are worried by rumors. One of the latest rumors is that a wave of reprisals for the strikes is on the way. Worse than that, it has already set in. The reason is a report in the press stating that certain economic managers have been called to account. In order to clarify the situation your correspondent visited the NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] Prosecutor's Office:

Stepanakert City Prosecutor B. Melkumov: We are aware of this kind of talk, especially in respect of Yu. Nersisyan, director of the printing plant. There can be no question of any "waves." We are dealing with specific violations. In the case of Yu. Nersisyan proceedings have been instituted in connection with reports submitted by Ministry of Interior officials. They allege that the director insulted these officials while they were discharging their official duties protecting the enterprise and that in wanting to throw them out he tried to stop them from working.

As you can see, it is not a question of a strike but of a conflict between different people in official positions. It is important to clarify all the circumstances, which is precisely what the prosecutor's office is doing. The investigation will show to what extent Yu. Nersisyan is responsible.

And this is what Oblast Prosecutor V. Vasilenko said:

A number of other officials could be named. In all cases the claims of the prosecutor's office against them are very specific. What are they based on? Above all on the fact that in the highly unorthodox and very complex situation resulting from strikes, the leaders of some enterprises and organizations adopted decisions which did not take all the stipulations of labor legislation into consideration.

For instance, S. Abramyan, director of the capacitor plant, fired seven people for absenteeism without valid reason. Please note that they included both Armenians and Azerbaijanis. Therefore there is no reason for suspecting him of national bias.

I must say that the director's actions may be understandable. But how is one to justify the fact that, in violation of the Labor Code, no one asked the workers for written explanations before firing them and no one really clarified the circumstances in which the violations of the labor discipline took place?

E. Zakiyan, chief of the Stepanakert public transport department, is guilty of similar violations. Recently he fired two drivers, also in crude violation of the Labor Code. The prosecutor's office has therefore decided that disciplinary steps should be taken against both S. Abramyan, director of the capacitor plant, and E. Zakiyan, chief of the transport department, for breach of official duties.

A similar instruction has been issued in respect of S. Ananyan, chief of the Stepanakert "Smeshtorg." A checkup has revealed that there was gross violation of the regulations governing the distribution of meat and butter in this organization.

A number of people have been detained in the city for manufacturing weapons. In this context I put three questions to K. Maydanyuk, senior investigator for particularly important cases at the office of the USSR Prosecutor General. Does the legal provision which exempts from criminal liability people who voluntarily hand in weapons continue to apply? Have weapons been used? What legal consequences face people who manufactured weapons and the administration of enterprises where these weapons were manufactured? Here are his answers:

Yes, all the provisions of Article 220 of the Azerbaijan SSR Criminal Code continue to apply in full, including the provision which exempts people who voluntarily hand in weapons from crimininal liability.

In every individual case we investigate carefully for what purpose the weapons were made.

For instance on the night of 18 May an explosive device was thrown into one of the houses. By sheer chance it did not explode. And claims that this was done "merely to give a fright" to the people living there are not good enough. A specific person has been charged and committed to trial.

We accept that there are people who are not loath to maintaining tension. This is why we regard it as our task to categorically cut short all attempts to manufacture dangerous homemade weapons.

For instance, we received information that the situation at the electrical equipment plant was very bad. We carried out a search. We found blades, homemade pistols, and finished and half-finished grenades. In our view it was only possible to manufacture this arsenal as a result of a total lack of supervision by shift leaders V. Markaryan and K. Beglaryan and shop foreman L. Khachatryan. After all, the weapons were made during working hours using state equipment and materials.

I cannot forecast how all this will end for the officials concerned. However, the general rule is that if proof is found that all this happened with the connivance of the leaders, then criminal liability will be invoked.

And, of course, we have every right to raise the question of disciplinary measures against M. Grigoryan, the plant's chief engineer, and party measures against B. Arushanyan, the plant's director. There must be reliable guarantees for normal life in the city.

3 People Sentenced Over Sumgait Violence

LD0208090888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 2 Aug 88

[Text] As you know, comrades, a group of hooligan elements carried out outrages accompanied with acts of violence, robberies, and killings in Sumgait during the last week of February. An investigating team from the USSR Procuracy arrived there immediately. It was established that 32 people of different nationalities had died and that 197 citizens had suffered injuries.

Now 94 lawbreakers have been brought to account and arrested, (Nenashev), deputy head of the Main investigation Directorate of the USSR Procuracy, said in conversation with a TRUD correspondent. Sixteen criminal cases relating to 20 defendants have already been sent to court. Three of them have been examined. (Ismailov), (Ibishev), and (Garibov) have been sentenced to lengthy terms of imprisonment. The remaining cases are expected to be completed and handed over to the court from the end of August to the middle of October.

Soviet of Nationalities Commission Meets 29 Jul

Discusses Nagorno-Karabakh

LD2907163088 Moscow TASS in English 1623 GMT 29 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 29 TASS—The Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities, one of the two chambers of the Supreme Soviet (parliament) of the USSR, held a meeting on the question of Nagorno-Karabakh in the Kremlin today. The meeting was presided over by Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities Avgust Voss.

Views 18 Jul Presidium

PM0108132088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Jul 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Commission Session"]

[Text] On 29 July 1988 a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities Commission was held on the questions of relations between nations discussed at the 18 July 1988 USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session.

The session was conducted by A.E. Voss, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities.

Yerevan Rally Rejects Supreme Soviet Resolution

LD3007125888 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1200 GMT 30 Jul 88

[Text] Speakers at a mass rally in Yerevan have rejected the Supreme Soviet Presidium's resolution on Nagorno-Karabakh. MTI's Moscow correspondent has learned from sources in Yerevan that some 250,000 people demonstrated yesterday in the Armenian capital. No new strike calls were heard at the rally, and further demonstrations will apparently not be organized until September.

The Armenian parliament is to discuss in the coming days the Supreme Soviet's ban on rallies and demonstrations. They will also decide how and in what way it will be allowed to organized unofficial demonstrations in Armenia because until now the authorities have had no legal means to prevent them.

Rally Passes 'Peacefully'

LD3007084288 Hamburg DPA in German 0711 GMT 30 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—The first mass demonstration for a week, held in the Armenian capital of Yerevan passed off peacefully on Friday evening, according to human rights circles in Moscow. Valeriy Senderov, spokesman for the Moscow group of the International Society for Human Rights, learned from Yerevan that Armenians addressed another appeal to the USSR and Armenian Supreme Soviets to annex the disputed area of Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenia.

Within 2 hours, more than 50,000 people had signed a corresponding petition, in which they also protested Moscow's decision not to separate Nagorno-Karabakh from Azerbaijan. According to unnofficial estimates, almost 500,000 people took part in the demonstration, Senderov said. It passed off peacefully, and the militia did not intervene.

On Thursday of the previous week, Armenians held a rally at which they decided to return to work so as not to "carry the confrontation with the Soviet leadership to extremes." People have been working normally in Armenia since Monday. The situation is also normalizing in Nagorno-Karabakh, which belongs to Azerbaijan, but is populated mostly by Armenians.

Post-Rally Work Production

LD3007172588 Moscow TASS in English 1720 GMT 30 Jul 88

[Text] Yerevan July 30 TASS—More than 130 enterprises of Yerevan, capital of the Soviet Transcaucasian Republic of Armenia, worked on Saturday.

The extra output reached several million roubles.

Consumers have been delivered, under contract commitments, electrical machines and appliances, fabrics, footwear, and dozens of other products.

Working people of Armenia regard the task of making every effort to eliminate arrears caused by strikes as their duty.

Industrial enterprises in Leninakan, Kirovakan, Alaverdi, Kafan, Razdan and other cities and district centres of the republic have regained a normal pace of work.

Collective farmers are raising the rate of agricultural production.

Today, a large batch of vegetables and fruits was dispatched from Armenia to other regions of the country.

However, it is too early to speak about full normalisation of the situation in the republic.

On Friday evening, a rally was held near Matenadaran.

Speakers voiced their disagreement with the resolution of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on Nagorno-Karabakh.

Report on Current Work Situation in Stepanakert

LD2907221188 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 29 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report from Nagorno-Karabakh by special correspondent V. Plotnikov]

[Text] [Plotnikov] Since the beginning of this week, for the first time in the last 2 months, all of Stepanakert's industrial enterprises, construction organizations and means of transport have been in operation. The volume of output is increasing gradually and the number of empty workplaces is falling. Former production levels have been attained at some enterprises, such as the footwear factory, whose products go on sale immediately. [video shows production operations in footwear factory] On the whole, however, there is still a shortage of consumer goods in the town's retail outlets. This applies both to locally-produced goods and to imported goods, which have been left standing at the railway station for a long time.

The Collective of Construction Directorate No 91 turned up for work at full strength. They are counting on completing their building projects—above all, houses—on time, but during the strike the construction conveyor belt went out of order and supplies are unsatisfactory. The consequences of the strike are sorely affecting the budgets both of the workers' families and of the enterprises as a whole, since they have not fulfilled deliveries to allied organizations. The electrotechnical works alone, for instance, has let down 400 important consumers throughout the country. This example shows how easy it is to destroy, and how difficult to restore normal production operations and labour productivity and discipline.

[B.S. Arushanyan, director of works] Today we have reached 80 percent of the daily norm; but the collective is going to work on Saturday and Sunday, and I think that by Monday we will be up to the daily production norm. The thing is that people are still in a state of shock. We are working with them to finally put things back to normal.

[Plotnikov] And people now realize that striking is not the way to solve problems and more and more are returning to work?

[Arushanyan] Yes, they realize it. We have been helped in this by lawyers and Armenian cultural figures. They have been carrying out explanatory work together with us, literally going over each point. They have explained to people that firstly, not all is lost—there is political scope in resolving this matter—and most importantly, that there will be strong supervision from Moscow and the CPSU Central Committee. Once people realized this they returned to work, but we have still not reached the required level of labor productivity. They are still sort of

dithering, wondering whether it is correct or not, entertaining doubts, talking with one another and explaining. But on the whole, the trend indicates for us to be up to the daily production levels on Monday.

[Plotnikov] THank you.

Armenian Secretary Arutyunyan on Stabilization

LD2907154688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 29 Jul 88

[Excerpts] As I was coming to work this morning a small event occurred. It looked extremely commonplace: I saw three buses with tourists. People who have been following media reports on the situation in Armenia can conclude from this that the situation in the republic is gradually stabilizing. And things of course go beyond the appearance of tourists.

Throughout Armenia there is an impassioned and committed discussion about the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decision on the Nagorno-Karabakh problem: Approval of the document predominates. However, there are people with sincere doubts about the correctness of the solution chosen. Calls and statements of an inflammatory nature have also been made at meetings and gatherings.

This was noted on Armenian television by Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee. He stressed that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decision was the only correct decision in the circumstances. He also noted that having correctly grasped the situation, the majority of the population do not now share in the negative sentiments.

People in Armenia, through shock work, are now doing their utmost in an attempt to restore the republic's undermined prestige and to eliminate the breakdown in all-union deliveries caused by the strikes. At certain enterprises this breakdown is considerable. The Armenian Electrical Machinery Association, for instance, in the first 6 months of this year, failed to deliver output valued at R4.8 million. Its debts to banks and suppliers stands at over R26 million, and it had a shortage of R11 million in its own circulating capital. It is expected, however, that many major industrial enterprises will fully meet their programs as early as this month.

A strong impression has been left by an appeal to the Armenian people by internationalist soldiers drafted from Armenia for miltary service in Afghanistan, published in the local press. They stress that only friendship among peopes can be a realistic basis for the success of the whole country and each of its peoples.

Meanwhile, life continues. News is arriving from all corners of the Republic of a victory for a normal working situation. [passage omitted]

Many reports speak of a normalization of the situation in the Republic. However it would not be right to assert that reason has triumphed over emotion absolutely everywhere. The Karabakh committee has called another meeting for today—an hour after this broadcast—at the Matenadaran Institute of Ancient Manuscripts. Meanwhile, in Yerevan's hotels there are still many more free rooms—and at the height of summer, too!

Armenian Collectives Work To Make Up 'Lost Time'

PM0108131888 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Jul 88 Second Edition p 6

[Special correspondent G. Ovcharenko report: "Concerns and Hopes"]

[Excerpts] Yerevan—It is hard to take your eyes off the running silver ribbon. There is something pagan about it, like looking into a fire. And you cannot stop marveling that an aluminum bar smelted in Bratsk and rolled into a sheet in Kuybyshev is transformed, here in Yerevan, into the finest 0.009 mm foil. All the time you are expecting it not to withstand the strain and... But no, it does not break, it rolls up into a heavy, resilient roll.

"Our plant," V. Mnatsakanyan, secretary of the Kanakert Aluminum Plant party committee, explains, "is one of the country's two main suppliers of foil-based packaging materials. Today we are producing 24 tonnes of output that is urgently needed by Gosagroprom enterprises." [passage omitted]

But of course, the Kanakert Aluminum Plant is not concerned only with production problems. Events in Nagorno-Karabakh have not bypassed the collective. Although the Kanakert workers did excellent work in the first half-year and fulfilled all their main pledges, in July there was a week's stoppage, which could not, of course, fail to affect the indicators. People realized this, and were among the first in Yerevan to return to work. But many questions remained. And when chief technologist L. Simonyan, USSR Supreme Soviet deputy, returned from the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session at which the resolution on Nagorno-Karabakh was adopted, they gave him no peace.

"I had to spend a long time explaining in detail," Lev Artashesovich says, "why I regard the decision adopted in Moscow as the only correct one in the situation that has arisen. They also asked me why not much was said about Sumgait at the Presidium. But that is not quite true: In his speech, M.S. Gorbachev spoke about the Sumgait tragedy and said that it cast a shadow over our life that is today in the grip of great ideas and hopes, and that the country shares this grief..."

The republic is heatedly discussing the speech on local television by S.G. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee. The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Supreme Soviet

Presidium, he announced, have already sent a representative to Nagorno-Karabakh—Comrade A.I. Volskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet deputy, and chief of a CPSU Central Committee department. He is entrusted with the task of organizing and coordinating the work of party, soviet, and economic organs in Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast in this respect. It was deemed necessary to instruct a specially created commission of the Soviet of Nationalities to study the questions raised at the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session, and when it is ready, the commission will submit its proposals for examination by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Thus, S. Arutyunyan noted, for the first time we have a broad opportunity to play the most active part in the resolution of urgent questions of the political, economic, social, and cultural life of Nagorno-Karabakh. And from now on we will constantly develop and strengthen in every way our socioeconomic, cultural, and spiritual ties with Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast.

Recently, he went on to say, people with extremist views have come out in an unacceptable form against the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution. Seeking to misrepresent its meaning and content, these people, obsessed with a mania for speaking on behalf of the people, stop at nothing, flouting our moral values and our laws. The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and other leading organs in the republic are receiving numerous letters from war and labor veterans, workers at enterprises, institutions, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes, and representatives of the intelligentsia condemning these people's antidemocratic ations and demanding that they be called to account.

...Working people at the Kanakert Aluminum Plant are now making every effort to fulfill the July plan and contractual commitments, and other enterprises in Armenia are also making up for lost time. But the normalization of the situation in the republic is not to everyone's liking.

After a week's break, the activists of the "Karabakh" committee, which is continuing to operate still, held a rally at the Matenadaran yesterday evening. The speakers sought to misrepresent the essence of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decisions on Nagorno-Karabakh, came out against the Decree on the Procedure for the Conduct of Rallies and Demonstrations, and, as always, accused the mass media of every possible sin. In a word, as before, they tried to shift the blame.

Today, although it is the weekend, many other labor collectives, in addition to the enterprises which operate a continuous shift system, have also turned up for work in Yerevan and other cities in the republic. And we hope, no, we are sure that the intelligence of the ancient, long-suffering, wise, and industrious Armenian people will prevail.

Good luck and success to you, our Armenian brothers!

Work Continues on Nagorno-Karabakh Farms

LD3107190688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 31 Jul 88

[Excerpts] With the help of our reporters, we are all following events in and around Nagorno-Karabakh. Here is what Vladimir Plotnikov, our special correspondent, sent us from Nagorno-Karabakh:

[Begin recording] Today is a working day at a number of enterprises in Stepanakert, and, of course, on the kolkhozes and sovkhozes of Nagorno-Karabakh. [passage omitted]

There are many cases in the oblast of Azerbaijani and Armenian machine operators working side by side. All working people are equally concerned about the harvest. We visited the Twice Hero of the Soviet Union Nelson Stepanyan Kolkhoz, where work has not stopped for a single day, regardless of how tense the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh has been. The machine operators told us that ordinary workers were never interested in whipping up hostility between nationalities. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Azerbaijani Rayon Criticized at Meeting

NC2907121388 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Text] At its regular meeting, the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers Presidium examined how the effects of the natural disaster in Kel'badzharskiy Rayon are being removed and how the decisions adopted by the republic's government for Kel'badzharskiy Rayon's and [word indistinct] social and economic development are being realized. It was noted that the republic's ministries and administrations and the local party, soviet, and economic organs have worked to remove the effects of the natural disaster. The damaged buildings and installations have been repaired and work has started on the construction of various social, cultural, and municipal buildings.

However, it has been determined through [word indistinct] that the State Committee for the Agro-Industrial Complex, the Ministry of Housing and Municipal Services, the Main Administration for Construction, [title indistinct], and the Union of the Consumers' Societies displayed lack of responsibility in controlling the work carried out to realize the government's decisions. They failed to mobilize their affiliated organizations and establishments to realize the [word indistinct] on time. Furthermore, they failed to seriously control the realization of the measures that were to be put into effect.

Consequently, the construction of a new kindergarten, clinic, water supply pipeline network, sewage system, and [words indistinct] in the rayon has not begun. Nor has work started on the reconstruction of the mineral

water bottling factory and other establishments. Only 46 percent of the funds that were allocated for construction work in 1987 were used. The construction plan was fulfilled by only 68 percent during the January-June 1988 period.

The time tables for the (?planning) and construction of various buildings have been grossly disrupted. Backwardness has been allowed in improving the material and technical basis of the [word indistinct] construction organizations. Meanwhile, the Kel'badzharskiy Rayispolkom has not restructured its work.

The Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers Presidium described the work of the State Committee for the Agro-Industrial Complex, the Ministry of Housing and Municipal Services, the Main Administration for Construction, and [title indistinct] as unsatisfactory, and drew the attentiion of their leading officials; that is, Gasanov, Mayorov, Efendiyev, and Gadzhiyev, to the disorderliness that has been allowed in the realization of the government's decisions. The Presidium seriously cautioned them and demanded that they take immediate measures to realize their tasks by removing the backwardness in their work.

Comrade Akhundov, deputy chairman of the Main Administration for Construction, and Comrade Mamedov, deputy minister of housing and municipal services, were reproached for the [words indistinct] of the buildings on time and for the backwardness that has been allowed in their construction. Comrades Sultanov and (?Varoshov), chairman and deputy chairman of the Kel'badzharskiy Rayispolkom, were seriously cautioned against the lack of responsibility they displayed and against the (?shortcomings) they allowed.

The Presidium instructed the leading officials of the pertinent ministries and administrations in the republic to take the concrete measures required for improving the material and technical basis of their affiliated construction and development organizations and for supplying construction materials to the [words indistinct] on time. The Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers Presidium also discussed the status of the work being carried out in the struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism in the republic, as well as the measures that have been taken on the basis of party and government decisions to further strengthen the work in that regard.

It was noted that although a certain amount of work has been carried out in that direction, [words indistinct]. The society, the work collectives, the people in [word indistinct], the cultural organs, the physical training and sports organizations, and the association for soberness have not joined in the struggle being made for a healthy existence as much as they should have. The struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism has weakened in a number of organizations affiliated with the State Committee for the Agro-Industrial Complex, the Ministry of Highway Contruction and Maintenance, the Caspian Oil [word indistinct] Administration, the Main Administration for Construction (?in the Caspian Region), the Ministry of Health, the Main Administration for Power Generation in the Caspian Region, the Union of Consumers' Societies, and the Caspian Maritime Administration. The struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism has also weakened in the Azerbaijan (?metal) pipes factory and in the [word indistinct] factory in Baku.

A large number of cases involving infringement of the laws exist because of drunkenness and alcoholism. Due to absence of control by the Ministry of Trade, the Union of Consumers' Societies, and the local ispolkoms, a significant disorderliness prevails in the sale of wine and vodka. There are [words indistinct] with these products. The [word indistinct] assistance provided for the people is at a low level.

The ministries and the main administrations were advised to take additional measures to eradicate alcoholism, which is a harmful social disease, to focus particular attention on efforts made to urge the work collectives to join the struggle for a healthy life, and to create all the conditions required for guaranteeing the people's broader participation in the said struggle.

The meeting participants approved the proposals made by a number of ministries, main administrations, and local ispolkoms for converting various production, administrative, and other buildings into health centers. It was decided that the plans required to convert the said buildings and the actual work that will be carried out to realize their conversion should be completed from 1988 to 1990.

IZVESTIYA Reports Situation in Yerevan

PM0108141788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Own correspondent S. Bablumyan report: "Yerevan, 30 July"]

[Text] A detail worth noting is that there is more and more calm and businesslike information reaching the IZVESTIYA correspondent center. You get an even stronger sense of a return to the normal business rhythm of life when you talk to people themselves—at enterprises, construction sites, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes. And the main thing here is not even the results, which—to be blunt—have not yet made up the losses incurred by the strikes; the main thing is to confidently accelerate labor turnover and to ensure that people are universally resolved to make up the lag so that not a single labor collective should be in debt to the country.

In Masisskiy Rayon—where, as is well known, things were more than restless for a long time—harvesting work is in full swing. Until recently when you came here you could see armored personnel carriers at the entrance to the rayon center and on its streets along with increased

patrols by public order protection forces. But now, having changed their positions, the soldiers are showing their skill in the July harvest—they are helping to lift potatoes.

"Some 150 tonnes of select tubers have already been sent to Moscow," R. Ambartsumyan, chairman of the rayon agro-industrial association, said. "There is no doubt that the plans for deliveries to all-union stocks will be fulfilled."

Leaving the rayon, I saw trucks loaded to the brim—a convoy was en route to the railroad station. Need it be said how much depended during those difficult days—and still does—on the well-organized work of rail transport. Freight and passenger trains were not halted for a single hour. At the Yerevan Division of the Transcaucasus Railroad we read a telegram from the Ministry of Railways stating that the Armenian railroad workers were socialist competition winners on the basis of the results of the second quarter. And the division leaders asked me to name in the newspaper the following front-rankers: S. Avetisyan, foreman at the Yerevan Railroad; Kh. Abadzhyan, engineer at the Leninakan Depot; A. Davtyan, stationmaster at Dalarik Station, and many others who did not leave their workplaces for a single hour.

I could continue the list of cases of good work by citing obvious improvements in the situation and quoting names worthy of recognition. I think that the day is not far off when it will be possible to write about all this calmly, free of worry and difficult thoughts. But for the time being it would be unforgivable to flippantly make out that the situation is returning to normal of its own accord. No, "of its own accord" it might remain unstable and fraught with unpredictable exacerbations and unexpected developments for a long time yet. In order to avert this, it is necessary to continue to hold direct and candid discussions with people, calling a spade a spade and not glossing over prickly points in the argument.

It seems that one lesson of the events in Armenia is that reconvincing people is far harder than convincing them. But at any rate, success will be ensured not by strength of vocal chords, but by the irrefutable cogency of arguments and—most important of all—conviction about the correctness of one's own position. Unfortunately, people paid too high a price for the helplessness which certain half-baked bureaucrats demonstrated so brilliantly in the squares and the streets.

Incidentally, a word about dialogue, which would undoubtedly make it even easier to understand each other. The other day M. Mkrtchyan, first secretary of Artikskiy party raykom, called the correspondent center and reported a proposal from workers at the "Artiktuf" Association. It is a question of organizing a TV linkup between Yerevan, Stepanakert, and Baku. I think that such a broadcast would be most timely.

21 Students Killed in Summer Work Detachments

LD0108134588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 1 Aug 88

[Text] By decision of the bureau of the All-Union Central Committee all student detachments in the country have stopped work today for the day. An all-union conference of student detachments is being held to work out extra measures to improve the organization of labor, conditions of everyday life and leisure of the students, and scrupulously to check the reliability of machines and machinery.

The point is that by the middle of the summer labor term, for various reasons 21 people have been killed. The reasons for the tragedies are: a low level of discipline, a careless attitude by some students toward their own health, irresponsibility of the leaders of a number of detachments and economic organizations, and an absence of supervision.

An analysis of the first month of work has shown that, although hiring organizations are proving more successful this year in solving many problems connected with hiring students, construction detachment work is still accompanied by stoppages, redeployments, and a poor level of living quarter facilities.

Crimea Resort Project Reportedly Under Fire

PM0108190588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Aug 88 First Edition p 2

[Own correspondent M. Odinets report under the rubric "On Press Topics": "Not a Word About the Debate"]

[Text] Kiev—As always, the local newpapers covered the latest session of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet extensively, printing several pages of materials prepared by the Ukrainian Radio and Telegraph Agency (RATAU). They featured the names of the speakers and summaries of the speeches that were delivered. So, it would seem, people were fully informed about the proceedings. However, quite a few readers have written to the PRAVDA correspondent's office asking: Why was, so to speak, an abridged version of the truth about the proceedings published in the press?

The reason for their puzzlement was the fact that Ukrainian television, covering the session in detail, had shown whole sequences directly from the sessions hall which testified to democratization in the work of the republic Supreme Soviet. However, turning to local newspapers, people failed to find the most interesting parts of the speeches in them.

So, Deputy A. Zonenko, editor of PRAVDA UKRAINY, said from the rostrum: "I, as a deputy for the Crimea, want to say the following at today's session. We prepared a publication reporting that Yalta Gorispolkom has decided to sell the 'Golubaya bukhta' ['Azure Bay'] and the adjoining territory with its unique natural conditions

to the British. How is it possible in our times to adopt such a decision without even consulting the Yalta working people? I believe that this decision will be reviewed." However, for some reason the official report on the session did not feature this part of the deputy's speech.

Nor did it carry an account of the events that followed. What happened was that the chairman read out a memorandum addressed to A. Roshchupkin, chairman of Crimea Oblispolkom, asking him to explain what sale of land the editor of PRAVDA UKRAINY was referring to. In this connection it was decided at the end of the session to hear the Crimean representative.

The explanation was a detailed one. After relating that Crimea Oblast had been linked with the county of Derbyshire (Great Britain), the speaker stated that at one of the latest meetings there had been an exchange of opinions on the possibility of building a joint enterprise—a tourist complex—on the Crimea's southern coast. A. Poshchupkin then asserted that it was not a question of concessions, nor a question of selling, but a question of the construction—if it does take place—of a joint Soviet-British enterprise: a tourist complex with the controlling package of shares in the hands of Yalta Gorispolkom. The speaker assured his audience that all the Crimea's working people had been widely informed about this issue. The ispolkom, he said, is studying public opinion and the economic and material feasibility of carrying out the stated intention. Here the speaker criticized Ukrainian radio, which had carried three allegedly unobjective transmissions on the impending deal.

The auditorium's reaction was mixed, and A. Roshchupkin endeavored to assuage those assembled by stating that the new enterprise will be similar to Inturist. If, he said, it is set up by joint efforts, then Yalta Gorispolkom will be receiving revenue in the form of convertible currency...

Deputies V. Masol and D. Protsenko expressed serious reservations about the Crimean representative's reply. In particular it was stated that the documents submitted for examination by the republic authorities indicate that this complex is to include a reservation zone. Roshchupkin was told that this is a flagrant contravention of existing Soviet legislation—reservations cannot be destroyed. The auditorium greeted these last words with applause.

However, A. Roshchupkin continued to uphold his viewpoint, supporting it with arguments that—as he claimed—the development [osvoyeniye] of the Crimea's Black Sea coastline is moving slowly, that the AUCCTU had been unable to pool the resources of all the developers for the comprehensive construction of resorts. He also cited this conclusion: According to the general plan for Greater Yalta it was envisaged siting a tourist and resort complex for 5,700 people in "Golubaya bukhta," but no client had been found to make a start on the work. He also complained that a 30-hectare zone of spruce forest will perish because of a lack of resources, and that a shortage of money is making it impossible to halt the destructive effect of the sea and landslides... Generally speaking—to the speaker's way of thinking—there is one way out: the joint Anglo-Soviet resort complex.

As you can see, there was a lively discussion, which sometimes became most heated. When Deputy D. Protsenko, chairman of the Ukrainian State Committee for Nature Conservation, spoke, she said that in Yalta, considering the complex ecological situation, this mountain and forest reservation must unfailingly be preserved and not handed over for the establishment of the complex.

"We believe," the speaker said, to an approving rumble from the auditorium, "that the Crimea is the holy of holies, our state power's 'visiting card,' a national asset, and no one has the right to use it for other purposes."

That is how conversation went. But none of this appeared in the newspaper reports. Nor was there any place in the press for coverage of the debate connected with the cutting down of some green plantations in Kiev. Deputy V. Shcherbitskiy, first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, asked D. Protsenko to describe in this connection the damage caused to the Goloseyevo Forest. She announced from the session rostrum that it had once been decided to create higher courses for the training of agro-industrial specialists at the Ukrainian Agricultural Academy base in this forest. Kiev Gorispolkom allocated 5 hectares of territory. But the Ukrainian SSR State Committee for Nature Conservation, having studied the site, determined that the forest here was a good one and should not be cut down. Another site should be sought for the courses. But, by misleading the Gosagroprom, the VUZ leadership obtained permission to cut down this precise sector. So a large tract of fine forest was destroyed in the Kiev zone.

Deputy D. Medovar, an academician of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, asked to speak. He spoke with emotion about how green areas are being arbitrarily destroyed in the city and criticized the high-handedness of local authorities who are unwilling to consider the working people's interests.

None of this—the polemics, the emotional speeches, the charged atmosphere in the auditorium, the "heated passions," as one deputy put it, fragments of which were shown on television—was reflected in the newspapers. Nor was the fact made public that during the voting at the session there were for the first time some who either voted "against" or "abstained." Of course, this "filtering out" generated numerous questions from readers. Operating according to the old system, RATAU preferred to avoid showing the shoots of genuine democracy.

Actually, it would be unfair to accuse RATAU and that agency's journalists alone of this. The procedure which has taken shape over many years, whereby the coverage

of such events has been in a dry, conventional style ruling out everything vital [zhivoye] not provided for by protocol, is largely to blame here.

People want to know in detail how the republic's supreme organ of power operates. Glasnost, which is boldly blazing a trail in various spheres of our life, should also triumph here. The 19th All-Union Party Conference and the CPSU Central Committee July Plenum voiced the demand for the utmost expansion of glasnost and openness in the soviets' activity. That is the requirement of the times.

Estonian Party Begins Restructuring
LD0108144388 Moscow TASS in English 0500 GMT 1 Aug 88

[Text] Tallinn August 1—ETA correspondent Aleksandr Capligin writes:

It looks as if a massive violation of the rules is in the making in the Communist Party of Estonia.

"During the upcoming reporting and election campaign, secretaries of party organisations, i.e. the leaders, will be elected not only by the members of party bureaus and committees, as has been the case before, but by a general meeting of all the Communists," Georgiy Alesin, second secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia, told journalists here. "Direct elections seem to us to be more democratic, although, formally, they may not accord with the paragraphs of the party rules. And it goes without saying that the election will be by secret ballot and there will be a choice of several candidates."

By this decision, the 100,000 strong party organisation of Estonia has begun a practical implementation of the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference concerning a further democratisation of party life. In other words, the Communist Party of Estonia begins to carry out democratic changes in the life of the republic by starting with itself, its own ranks.

"And we see nothing awful in that the party rules may be somewhat violated—the letter of the rules must not limit the search for new forms of party democracy," Georgiy Alesin thinks. The party conference decisions, in his opinion, aim at precisely this.

All party organs of the republic—from the Central Committee of factory and rural committees—are now discussing the upcoming changes heatedly and with a sense of personal involvement. And one can already see that the overwhelming majority of Estonia's Communists want the party to give duplicating the economic bodies and the soviets [sentence as received]. Moreover, this is now considered axiomatic, and the discussion is already centered on another issue, namely how the Communist Party of Estonia can best discharge the political leadership of the republic.

One important condition of success in this matter is to change the structure of party committees. The changes, which will be serious, are now in the process of preparation. In the words of Georgiy Alesin, "economic departments in the apparatus of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia will be liquidated, and the apparatus will be approximately halved."

Most district and city committees favour the liquidation of the economic departments. In their opinion, however, the structural changes do not aim at simply reducing the number of workers. In some of the committees they will "reshuffled" [as received] in a way which will improve the political work in the primary party organisations. This will be done upon recommendations from the Communists.

In Estonia they have also given thought to how to use those who would quit the party [passage indistinct]

Latvia's Ruben Credits Himself for Reform Work
LD0108043488 Moscow TASS in English 0416 GMT 1 Aug 88

["Latvia: Resignation of Head of Government Called Off"—TASS headline]

[Text] Riga August 1—LATINFORM correspondent Gaida Grisane writes:

The economic reform in Soviet Latvia for the next 20 years has been taken as a model by its neighbours—Baltic republics of Lithuania and Estonia.

The three republics are closely linked not only geographically but also by similar historical destinies of their peoples.

Early in August 1940, they proclaimed their voluntary inclusion in the Soviet Union, which determined their further political and social development.

Today, Latvia accounts for 1.2 per cent of the Soviet Union's industrial production.

The figure seems insignificant, yet it stands for 20 per cent of all Soviet radio sets, 60 per cent of telephone sets, and 30 per cent of cars for diesel and electric trains.

The new model for the economic reform, which immediately won acclaim, takes into account the interests of the country and at the same time ensures a more rational and independent economic development of the republic.

Latvian Prime Minister Yuriy Ruben, the 63-year-old economist, who gave these facts to the LATINFORM correspondent, gave a satisfied smile: "I worked much on the project, too, and I think my experience won't be unnecessary in implementing the reform. So it's too early to speak of my resignation".

That was not just a joke. The wide acclaim of the Latvian programme of changes in industry and agriculture, whose implementation will allow the republic to carry out a stage-by-stage transition to work on the basis of full cost-accounting and self-financing by the year 2005 while remaining within the single national economic complex of the USSR, is one of the most remarkable achievements after many years of political and economic stagnation.

The fact that for 15 years out of 18 Ruben headed the Latvian Government during those times made part of Latvia's three-million population think of him as a representative of the "bureaucratic braking force".

Such an opinion is understandable. In those years, the now-discredited policy of building on a large scale big power- and metal-intensive enterprises in Latvia took the upper hand over common sense.

Disregard for objective factors sharply aggravated the economic and ecological situation and ethnic problems.

"Only a short time ago, we were not always able to oppose decisions of Moscow," Ruben said.

"Perestroyka is giving us a free hand. The 19th Soviet Communist Party Conference reaffirmed a determining role of republics' independence.

"Now we know that only specific deeds can make people believe in success of the renovation drive."

The head of government described the task of matching the republic's natural capabilities and its economy as the most urgent.

Latvia will no longer build enterprises without their own raw material base and labour resources.

This means that such a problem as migration will cease to be acute.

"The current changes will not yield fruit tomorrow, as some hotheads in the republic would like them to, but our movement toward a better life has begun", Ruben said.

The concept of Latvia's economic and social development substantiated a repeal of the decision to build a hydroelectric power station on Daugava, the republic's main river.

Under a recently-signed act, cement production in Riga will be stopped.

Latvia is establishing direct ties with foreign firms. An example of such ties is offered by a Latvian-Finnish foreign economic association which will help the sides set up joint ventures in their territories.

Ruben said that the main error of the economic policy of the past years was that "we planned good intentions too often".

"Today is the time of real deeds," he said.

Lithuania Plans To Increase Sovereignty

LD2707102788 Vilnius in English to North America 2200 GMT 25 Jul 88

[Text] A commission of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences whose aim was to come up with the proposals and amendments of Lithuanian Constitution has ended its work. The proposals were handed over to the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The commission has stated that a number of clauses in the Lithuanian and USSR Constitutions deny sovereignty, economic, social and cultural independence of a union republic. The commission noted that over long years, beginning with 1940-1941 when the central management increased its influence and turned more bureaucratic, Lithuania's competence was reduced. In many cases the republic has under its control only secondary matters. The present commission suggests making principal amendments to the Constitution.

One of the most important statements is that on the Lithuanian territory exclusively Lithuanian laws are enforced while the Soviet Union will have on the Lithuanian territory the competence granted by Lithuanian [laws] and not the other way around.

Above all it concerns the activity of the union ministries to which Lithuanian industrial enterprises are subordinated. As a result of the economic activity of these enterprises which is hard to control has resulted in intense ecological situation we have now. [sentence as heard]

Constitutional amendments are also to regulate the immigration of citizens from other republics coming for a permanent residence in Lithuania. [words indistinct].

Chita Oblast Hit by Heavy Rain; Rivers Rise

LD3007170988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 30 Jul 88

[Summary] Abundant rains have raised the level of rivers in Chita Oblast to the critical mark. Our Transbaykal correspondent, Ryurik Karasevich, reports:

[Karasevich] There has been heavy rain for over a month now with just brief intervals. In rural areas situated on the floodplains of the large Siberian rivers, almost 150,000 hectares of grain fields and areas planted with vegetables have disappeared under water. Hundreds of

bridges and thousands of km of powerlines and telephone communications have been destroyed. The grounds of industrial enterprises and dozens of villages have been inundated. Interurban bus transportation has been paralyzed.

Vladimir Sergeyevich Abramov, deputy chairman of Chita Oblast Soviet Executive Committee, has said that the rains are continuing. The oblast's economy is facing many problems, especially in the sphere of agriculture. To date the damage from the flooding is estimated to be roughly R55 million. Many livestock have perished, buildings have been destroyed and many houses are unfit for human habitation.

Flood Damange in Krasnoyarsk Kray, Tuva ASSR
LD3107205688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 31 Jul 88

[Text] Hot weather and relentless rains have caused a lot of snow to melt in mountain areas of southern Krasnoyarsk Kray and Tuva ASSR. For several hours the tempestuous tributaries of the upper reaches of the Yenisey swelled up and in one night the floods destroyed eight bridges, traffic was disrupted on the road linking stockrearing areas and mining areas with raw material processing centers, and the railway station. A landslide occurred on the Orlinyy Pass and hundreds of loaded vehicles found themselves cut off in the ravine. Serious damage was done to Sut-Khol and Ishkin sovkhozes. Hundreds of hectares of grain and fodder crops were inundated. The powerful floods carried away some 400 tons of hay. Telephone and transport communications with some villages were disrupted and a high-voltage power line was damaged.

The situation is complicated by the unpredictable behaviour of the rivers. Obstructions of logs and rocks on the numerous bends act as dams and when they burst huge billows of water roll one after the other sweeping away everything in their path. In Khakass Autonomous Oblast and Tuva ASSR, flood commissions have been set up. Additional equipment has been sent to the areas of the natural disaster. In a very short time it proved possible to restore power supplies. Repair work is being carried out on the road, engineering structures are being renovated. The weather forecast provides hope for an improvement in the situation, but it remains serious. The scope of the damage done by the natural disaster are being calculated but already today it is clear that many of the losses could have been avoided. The Ak-Dovurak-Abaza road was commissioned with many omissions and deviations from the project. In many places moles and breakwaters and other protective structures are absent.

Gromyko Presents 'High Orders'; Demichev Present
LD2807202588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 28 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] On 28 July in the Kremlin Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko presented high orders of the motherland to a group of state and party staff for their services to the Communist Party and Soviet State.

Orders of Lenin were given to Gagarov, first secretary of the Maritime Kraykom of the CPSU; Gramov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Physical Culture and Sports. Orders of the Labor Red Banner were given to Gorshkov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Computer Technology and Information Science; Ryuytel, chairman of the Presidium of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Comrade Gromyko warmly congratulated them on behalf of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the Soviet Government. He conveyed congratulations from Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev.

Addressing the award-winners, Comrade Gromyko stressed that the 19th all-union party conference was held recently, which gave us all fresh strength and targeted us toward fulfilling the next tasks. The forthcoming plenum of the CPSU Central Committee will elaborate the ideas of the party conference.

Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko wished the award-winners great successes in their work. May this day, he said, be not only a festive one for you, not only a day when you sum up certain results, but also a date which will once again compel you to reflect what should be done to accomplish our great and honorable cause of restructuring, and how it should be done.

Comrade Demichev took part in the award presentation ceremony.

Ligachev at Baykal Ecological Meeting
LD2807201488 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 28 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A conference took place at the CPSU Central Committee on 28 July that examined the progress of fulfillment of the decision made by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on 13 April, 1987 on measures to ensure protection and rational use of the natural resources of the Lake Baykal Basin in 1987-1995.

Opening the conference, Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev noted that Soviet people had been raising issues of the protecton of nature and the rational use of its riches in a more exacting and pointed way. These issues were examined at the 19th All-Union Party Conference with special responsibility. One of the major tasks is to fulfill the adopted decisions on Baykal in their entirety and in the stipulated time frame.

Reports of Busygin, USSR Minister of the timber industry; and Mayorets, USSR minister power and electrification; were made at the conference. Reports were also made by Comrade Maslyukov; Potapov and (Bilyukov), first secretaries of the Irkutsk and Buryat Obkoms; and other comrades.

It was noted that the nature protection measures scheduled for 1987 had been by and large fulfilled. A draft general concept of development of the production forces in the Lake Baykal basin had been elaborated. The yeast-producing facility at the Baykal Pulp and Paper Combine had been closed down. The design and construction work on diverting the combine's treated affluent to the Irkut River had been called off. The cutting of the main-use forest in the Baykal coastal area had been terminated and complex forestry enterprises engaged in protecting and restoring the forest had been set up.

Measures had been taken to reduced consumption of Baykal water for industrial and economic needs and to step up the efficiency of the nature conservation facilities currently in use. Treatment facilities and gas purification had been introduced at a number of enterprises in the Baykal area.

At the same time, the attention of the conference was drawn to the fact that in the current year construction of nature conservation facilities at enterprises of the USSR Gosagroprom, the USSR Ministry of Construction Materials, the USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy, the USSR Ministry of Petroleum and Chemical Industry, the RSFSR Ministry of River Fleet, and the RSFSR State Committee for the Supply of Petroleum Products, was lagging behind.

The interdepartmental commission for monitoring the state of the natural complex of the Lake Baykal basin is not making full use of its powers to put a stop to instances of ministries and departments not fulfilling the set tasks, and of individual enterprises and organizations violating environmental protection regulations.

Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev summed up the results of the conference. Indeed, a considerable amount has been done and is being done to fulfill the decision of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, but the biggest tasks are being solved too slowly. Nobody must lose their feeling of concern. Leaders of ministries and departments were criticized for a lack of proper persistence and initiative in implementing the program for the protection and rational utilization of the natural wealth of the Lake Baykal basin approved by the CPSU Central Committee and the government. Attention was drawn to the need to fully assimilate the material and financial resources allocated for these purposes and to enhance the contribution made by science to the creation and introduction of waste-free technologies and more efficient means of neutralizing hazardous emissions. All operations connected with reprofiling the Baykal pulp and paper combine must be carried out without delay—this is the big issue.

It was noted that in the activities of the region's local party and soviet bodies there is a lack of poignancy in tackling the practical tasks of improving the ecological situation and in overcoming consumerist attitudes toward the environemnt. Unsystematic building work is continuing along the shoreline of the lake in Irkutsk Oblast and the Buryat ASSR, and work aimed at putting the shore zone of Baykal into order is not properly organized. The town of Severobaykalsk is being planned and developed without profound study and in a ill thought-out manner. And is there really any need to create yet another industrial center there? Tardiness is being displayed in developing tourism, though people, including foreigners, are tremendously attracted to Baykal.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary noted that the mass information media, including the local media, must step up public monitoring of progress in fulfilling the decision of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, focusing attention on the unconditional fulfillment of the entire package of environmenthal protection measures in Baykal. Vigorous support should be lent to the appeal heard at the conference to move away from mutual reproaches toward close cooperation between state bodies, scientific organizations, and the public.

The report on the CPSU Central Committee conference will be published in full in the press.

Minister Vlasov on Demonstrations Decree

PM2907123588 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 29 Jul 88 Second Edition p 2

[Report on interview with USSR Minister of Internal Affairs A.V. Vlasov by TASS correspondent V. Itkin under the "Topical Interview" rubric: "Guarantee of Freedoms"; boldface as published—first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has adopted the decree "On the Procedure for Organizing and Holding Meetings, Rallies, Street Processions, and Demonstrations in the USSR." The decree is published in its entirety in IZVESTIYA.

TASS correspondent V. Itkin asked USSR Minister of Internal Affairs Aleksandr Vladimirovich Vlasov to comment on the document.

It is well known that the USSR Constitution, in accordance with the interests of the people and with the aim of strengthening and developing the socialist system, guarantees USSR citizens the freedom to hold meetings,

rallies, street processions, and demonstrations, the minister said. Further deepening of the processes of democratization and glasnost has given rise to increasing social activeness on the part of Soviet people and a legitimate desire for greater exercise of political freedoms. This has been reflected in their participation in various mass events. This year alone around 600 rallies and meetings have been held, in which hundreds of thousands of citizens have participated. These are now essentially everyday phenomena and the overwhelming majority of them are positive in nature and aimed at solving socioeconomic questions, improving the environment, safeguarding nature and historic monuments, and so forth. However, one is also bound to be aware of irresponsible, extremist, nationalist, and arrogant attempts by individuals and groupings to exploit certain constitutional freedoms to whip up passions which are antisocial and pose a danger to the process of democratization. No pluralism of opinions can justify anarchic attacks on the socialist foundations of our life and the law and norms of socialist communal life.

All this poses in a number of cases a direct threat to the interests of public safety and the rights of other citizens. It should be said that the absence of proper legislative regulation on the procedure for organizing and holding rallies, street processions, and demonstrations seriously weakened preventive measures concerning public safety. The problem was not resolved by the provisional rules adopted in a number of places. Some of them sought to restrict and restrain civic activeness and did not create obligations or legal responsibility on the part of organizers, participants, or representatives of power.

The adopted decree therefore establishes a **democratic regulation for the exercise of the constitutional right to the freedom to hold meetings, rallies, and demonstrations,a** unified procedure for organizing and holding them on the country's territory. The draft decree was widely discussed in advance with representatives of the public and soviet organs. The comments and suggestions made at the time were taken account of in the final drafting. All existing provisions, including those operative in Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Estonia, Moscow, Leningrad, and a number of other regions of the country were fully taken into account during its preparation. Foreign experience in this sphere, notably in Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, and a number of other countries was also studied and utilized.

The decree is consonant with the spirit and the principles of the international convention on civil and political rights and other documents adopted by the United Nations Organization.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Decree "On the Procedure for Organizing and Holding Meetings, Rallies, Street Processions, and Demonstrations in the USSR" will also help increase the state's responsibility to citizens and that of citizens to the state. This will undoubtedly promote fuller exercise of citizens' freedoms as enshrined in the constitutions of the USSR and union republics and further strengthen law and order in the country. The decree defines, in particular, soviet ispolkoms' obligations to ensure the conditions necessary for holding mass events. At the same time it is envisaged that a rally or meeting can be proscribed in cases where its aim is at variance with the constitutions of the USSR or union and autonomous republics or threatens public order and citizens' safety.

Internal affairs' organs are invested with responsible tasks, primarily in creating conditions for holding rallies and demonstrations which ensure that Soviet people's rights can be really exercised. And this can be achieved only by the maintenance of proper public order. With the clear definition of the rights and obligations of those responsible for organizing and holding mass events, militia workers can collaborate more effectively and closely with them to ensure proper law and order and citizens' safety are maintained.

A.V. Vlasov concluded by saying that in cases of violation of public order or the holding of a banned rally or demonstration the militia is invested with the appropriate powers to decisively stop any breaches of the law or attempts to exploit mass events for provocative purposes while maintaining absolute adherence to the socialist rule of law.

Academician Abalkin Interviewed on Restructuring

PM2807085088 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 27 Jul 88 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Academician L.I. Abalkin by Vladimir Denisov under the rubric "The Practice of Restructuring": "Key Forces"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Denisov] Leonid Ivanovich, as a delegate to the 19th all-union party conference you are now having meetings in the labor collectives—with workers, engineers, and scientists. How can these meetings be characterized?

[Abalkin] Indeed, since the conference there have been a great many meetings in the labor collectives of Moscow's Sevastopolskiy Rayon and in scientific institutes. During the first days people's attention was focused on individual episodes of the conference, the character of the speeches, and their critical thrust. This was apparent in the questions. People inquired about the position of individual delegates and asked my opinion of their speeches. Also in the forefront, of course, were the unexpected character of the conference, its course that was hard to predict beforehand, the openness of opinions, the direct, long forgotten juxtaposition of different views, the keenness of debates, and the principled nature of judgments. That was what most caught people's attention. But as the days pass, the talk now is about what will be done and how, what are the stages of the implementation of the reform of the political system, how will it be linked to the completion of the reform of the economic mechanism. People want to know how

individual aspects of democratization and glasnost will be prepared and tackled and what must be done finally to break the back of bureaucracy, which is still tenacious and bars the path of restructuring.

For myself, I can say that this is a time of very energetic work. Our institute's collective is required to maintain the pace set by the party conference. A whole series of new problems have arisen on which we are expected to make recommendations. This applies to such areas as improving the diverse forms of socialist ownership, developing new, nontraditional approaches such as leasing and the issuing of shares, and so on, and so forth.

A problem that has come to the fore in terms of the urgency and depth of changes and its topicality is that of developing regional forms of economic management, including the introduction of the principles of economic accountability in the activity of individual republics, oblasts, cities, and rayons. At the same time we are taking part in the preparation of major state decisions: the interim regulations on the state order, the taxation of cooperatives, the drafting of the general outline for the 13th 5-Year Plan... I repeat: Since the conference responsibility has risen sharply and a very strict, responsible pace has been set.

[Denisov] The conference noted that conditions are now ripe in the country for the transition to the new economic management conditions everywhere. Specifically what favorable conditions does this refer to? What must be done, and how, to complete the formation of the new economic mechanism?

[Abalkin] The creation of the prerequisites for profound reform is a lengthy process. It cannot be said that everything is entirely ready for the introduction of the new conditions of economic work. Much has, of course, been prepared. We have done some work in the new conditions, though not for long. Experience has been accumulated at a large group of enterprises in industry, the agro-industrial complex, the service sphere, and trade. There are a number of major acts of legislation—first and foremost the Law on the State Enterprise and the Law on the Cooperative System. But we have not finished creating the prerequisites. First of all, for the enterprises and labor collectives to work in the new conditions, we must finish what was outlined a year ago, at the June plenum. These are measures relating to the reform of the financial and banking system. It is necessary to carry out a price reform and advance actively toward wholesale trade in the means of production. Inertia in the work of management organs has by no means been eradicated. Inertia and a wait-and-see attitude also persist in the labor collectives...

This is how I would define the most important thing now: The switch from the inevitably uncoordinated, isolated initial measures to a comprehensive, integrated system of management, so as to realize new potential to the full in the 13th 5-Year Plan. And one last essential point: The economic reform will receive an additional new boost from the forthcoming restructuring of the political system, in particular the new procedure for electing deputies and forming soviets at all levels... Clearly a great deal will change in the course of the forthcoming report and election campaign in the party. Party committees will be substantially renewed and activity of a more democratic and open nature will become established. Party committees will—though not, of course, immediately—stop petty interference in economic life, focusing their attention increasingly on political leadership of social processes. All this taken together will create the conditions for the completion of the economic reform.

[Denisov] Last fall, in an interview for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, you spoke of the forthcoming switch to full economic accountability, the associated difficulties, and the need to bring immediately available reserves into play at every enterprise. It was also said at the conference that the reform is proceeding with great difficulties. And yet it is well known that from the new year all enterprises will switch to full economic accountability. What lessons should be learned first and foremost?

[Abalkin] The process of switching an enterprise over to full economic accountability and self-financing and the introduction of the principles of self-management is a very complex process. It means a radical break with the way things have been done for decades. Naturally, a change like this can be difficult, it is hampered by traditions, habits, and resistance from those who adhere to the old methods of economic management. That could be foreseen a year ago. When I talked with you, I emphasized the difficulty of the transition. After all, it must be said frankly that the concept of full economic accountability with regard to the work of an individual enterprise is only the start of the process, not its completion. Full economic accountability will only be really full and consistent when, first, it has been introduced everywhere. And second, when the change in activity at the level of the primary component is supplemented by restructuring of the work of ministries and central economic departments and changes in other components of the economic mechanism—prices, financial and credit relations, wholesale trade. Only then will economic accountability be really complete. And it is very important not to rush ahead with our assessments. Today we are only moving toward full economic accountability, and the path is a long one.

As for the lessons that must be learned, I see two such lessons. The first applies to the labor collectives. They must be more clearly aware that in the conditions of full economic accountability work is more difficult than it was before. Economic accountability does not mean an easier life, it does not mean being granted favors in the form of privileges in material supplies or financial resources. Economic accountability is a stricter, tougher system that requires every ruble to be earned, whether it

goes on wages, the maintenance of housing or kindergartens, the retooling of production facilities, or other purposes. It is a system that offers scope for initiative, for people who are enterprising, resourceful, and bold. It allows such people, such collectives, to spread their wings, it gives them the opportunity to make a great leap forward through enormous, intensive efforts. This does not happen of its own accord. This first lesson means not waiting for happiness to descend from the skies as a result of the new methods of economic management, but learning to master these methods and use them to achieve real progress.

The second lesson must be learned not only by the labor collectives, but by everyone involved in management restructuring. It is that we can expect results only if we act not by uncoordinated efforts, but by uniting all measures connected with restructuring in all echelons of management—the restructuring of the work of ministries, central economic departments, local soviets, and party organs too. Again, I repeat: We can expect success only if we tackle the whole range of accumulated problems comprehensively and coordinatedly.

[Denisov] In your speech at the 19th All-Union Party Conference you spoke of a complex scientific and social task, the renewal of our ideas about socialism. Today we all have a new view of the role of the cooperative system, individual labor activity, the contract and lease system. But this is, of course, only the start of the formation of new views. What elements of the economic system of socialism, in your view, require new interpretation first of all?

[Abalkin] This is a very complex question with many facets. At the conference, I spoke of this as a colossal theoretical problem on which we must make a leap forward, a breakthrough to new generalizations based on interpretation of the lessons of the past and reinterpretation of much of the classical heritage. This will take time, great efforts of scientific thought, and the overcoming of stereotypes. It would be naive to claim that everything is clear to us on these matters now.

Of course, we have a new view of the cooperative system, the contract, the lease system. But that is not the most difficult thing. Perhaps the most difficult thing is what the system of state economic management should be, how ownership by the whole people should operate so as to ensure, on the one hand, the greatest possible efficiency, flexibility, adaptability to scientific and technical achievements, and responsiveness to changes in social and personal needs. And, on the other hand, how this social economy, represented first and foremost by large-scale enterprises, should operate so as to ensure that every person's attitude to the people's assets, property, equipment, raw material, and power is the same as his attitude to his own family livestock unit or his little contract collective, to his own cooperative. How to ensure that people do not feel like temporary workers or hired hands, but like real proprietors.

Of course, we scientists can see the general trend. The attainment of this goal presupposes democratization, self-management, glasnost, and economic accountability. But these are still very general guidelines, a sketch, so to speak. What we need is a concrete program of actions. I think we should reexamine all questions concerning people's social position, the differentiation of incomes, and observance of the principles of social equality. For instance, the setting of minimum and maximum income levels. Do such limits exist at all? If they do, what determines their levels? What are the methods of regulating them? After all, there must be scope for creative, enterprising people to be paid genuinely in accordance with the real results of their labor. At the same time problems arise or could arise because of the danger of deepening social differentiation within society and the emergence of new fixed strata and groups... Here not everything is simple, there are no easy answers.

But there are, of course, clear concepts. It is clear, for instance, that the socialist economy and the existence of shortages and waiting lines are incompatible. It must be understood that all these disproportions, shortages, and waiting lines—with private distributors alongside them—are phenomena that have nothing in common with the principles of socialism. These phenomena may be inevitable, their temporary existence may be justified, but it is essential to know the cost of such justifications—departure from our principles, retardation of their operation...

It is also clear that the socialist economy is incompatible with low efficiency, poor quality output, and lack of competitiveness on the world market. The existence of these phenomena can also be explained in terms of a whole series of real factors, but nonetheless they cannot be regarded as inherent in socialism. The preservation of elements of laggardness is inappropriate to socialism. It is hard to have to say this, but it is even more dangerous to elevate these phenomena, which arose historically and have existed for a very long time, to the rank of elements inherent to the socialist economy.

It can also be said that the socialist economy and its totality of social relations include without fail participation by the individual in management and in the use of public property. And any methods that cut people off from real power in the economy and in the state are elements that are incompatible with socialism and alien to it. That is indisputable. But, I repeat, there are many issues that require scientific study, the interpretation of the lessons of the past, and well considered, balanced assessments. It will take time, as with any major movement in science, to formulate a harmonious, integrated package of ideas about socialism, its economy, and the fundamentally new face of socialism that is the ultimate goal of restructuring.

[Denisov] You spoke of possible social differentiation. Many people are expressing this fear today. In particular, in connection with the activity of cooperatives, their diktat over prices, their income... How real, in your view, are fears of this kind?

[Abalkin] Here again, we should avoid easy judgments and superficial evaluations. Social inequality, including inequality in income, arose in society's life independently of the cooperative system, long before its emergence. Today it is clear that it is possible for a relatively profound deformation of economic relations to exist within the framework of state ownership—while just principles are apparently complied with outwardly. I think the problem of inequality of income is far more complex. It exists in the state economy too: for instance, the payment of money that has not been earned—"wage-padding," payments for output for which there is no demand... As for the development of the cooperative movement, here, I think, two quite different things are often confused. The cooperative movement is very powerful, although it is only just beginning. Cooperatives are already making it possible considerably to improve the state of the consumer market, to remedy the situation in the service sphere, and so forth. At the same time there are often striking isolated instances of really gross violations, of individual cooperatives taking advantage of their monopoly position and receiving fabulous earnings that are not, of course, backed up by serious labor participation. The highlighting of these abuses means that in the public awareness these violations and individual cases are identified with the very concept of the "cooperative." We must distinguish between rogues, thieves, and bribe-takers and ordinary working people, whether in the state apparatus or in the sphere of state trade or industrial enterprises. I think in all these areas there are still bribe-takers, speculators, and people who go in for overreporting, but that is not a characteristic of the entire state apparatus or all workers in industry.

Cooperatives possess tremendous potential not only in the sense that they make it possible to bring into play material and labor reserves and fill the market with many goods and services. They also have another excellent capability which, true, is only just beginning to manifest itself—they break the monopoly of the state economy and create a real basis for the struggle for consumers. When, for instance, people complain about the high prices in cooperative cafes, I always think: In that case, why cannot state cafes, canteens, piroshki shops, and kabob shops, which have far greater opportunities, organize things in that particular city, rayon, or street so as to really fight for the consumer and offer him the same service, the same quality, but at a lower price? One of the tasks of the development of the cooperative system is to create a real counterweight, competition for the state form of the economy.

Now for income. The adoption of the lamentable 14 March decree [on taxation] revealed very clearly the full incompatibility of the changed conditions and traditional methods. The decree was prepared according to the very worst traditions of the past: without wide discussion, without consultation with scientists and specialists. Quite arbitrary percentages were set. If we had not changed it, not altered this approach, a whole series of negative phenomena would have resulted. And that would not only have led to a severe holdup in the development of the cooperative system (and its advantages can only be realized given broad development), it would inevitably have led to a considerable increase in prices for cooperative goods and services, because cooperatives still have a monopoly in most cases. And they could have increaesd prices to compensate for their tax payments. In other words, ultimately the consumer would have paid the taxes. That could have led not to a growth, but to a reduction in budget income from cooperative workers. Dummy figures would have appeared, so as to avoid high taxes by sharing large wages between several people. This practice is, in fact, well known throughout the world. Those who took the decision failed to reckon with that experience. I think the lesson has been learned. The mistake made here will help us not to act rashly in future, but to tackle major issues without undue haste, weighing up all the economic, social, and political consequences.

[Denisov] Another question about cooperatives. We have a mass consumer cooperative system. Why, when other forms of cooperatives are developing rapidly, is this, the country's oldest cooperative system, basically not working, or working very badly? Why such different manifestations of activeness among cooperative workers? How do you see the future for the development of the cooperative system in, say, industry, construction, transportation, and other sectors?

[Abalkin] I think the reason for the poor work of the consumer cooperative system headed by the Tsentrosoyuz is precisely that it has largely lost its cooperative principles. It has virtually been taken over by the state, and self-management principles have been eliminated in its activity locally, in the settlements and rayons. The consequences of this are quite obvious, it could not be otherwise. The path to the revival of the consumer cooperative system lies in the radical transformation of the content of its activity, so that cooperative principles are really restored and enterprise and the quest for opportunities to expand procurement and processing and bring more resources into circulation are revived. One of the new functions that this system could fulfill is that of consumers' cooperatives. In world practice, consumers' cooperatives form a powerful system that is counterposed to the monopoly position of producers, influences prices, and defends specifically the consumers' interests. But it must be informal, it must be characterized by the maximum initiative and by voluntary principles.

As for the development of the cooperative system in general, its prospects are very wide. There are different opinions. On this year's results, the volume of cooperatively produced goods and services, not counting the kolkhoz sector, will account for considerably less than 1 percent of national income. In the next 10 years, by the mid-nineties, we can expect the cooperative system to increase its share of the production of goods and services

to 10-12 percent. In the opinion of specialists, in particular the USSR Gosplan Scientific Research Economics Institute, in the longer term, perhaps by 2005, this proportion could increase to 15-18 percent. Clearly, the proportion will differ considerably in different sectors. I think it could be highest in the service sphere, where for certain types of services it is capable of rising as high as you like, approaching 100 percent. Although even here it would be desirable for it not to be 100 percent, for different types of services to exist, both state services and those based on individual labor activity. There could be a very high proportion of cooperatives in the public catering sphere and in the production of consumer goods that are not mass-produced. Naturally, it is not a question of the production of cotton or woolen textiles or the main bulk of footwear, although here too the transformation of a number of minor, comparatively small, sometimes loss-making enterprises into cooperatives is not excluded. The prospects for cooperatives are evidently extensive in the production of construction materials and in comparatively small-scale construction work, including work by ad hoc cooperative collectives, and other ad hoc forms of secondary employment are also promising. A very interesting trend is emerging in the development of cooperatives in the sphere of intellectual work—various kinds of consultation work, the introduction of innovations... Cooperative principles are also possible in the sphere of art.

[Denisov] Such cooperatives, as you have said, could offer competition to state enterprises in certain sectors. But how will these enterprises feel, since they are not accustomed to operating in these competitive conditions?

[Abalkin] The development of cooperatives will be the best way to make these enterprises restructure their work. All attempts to do this by means of commands from above have failed to vindicate themselves. Of course, it is necessary radically to change the organization of economic accountability and labor remuneration at state enterprises, so as to give a person the opportunity, if he is capable of it and if he so desires, to earn as much as is appropriate to the real results of his labor, productivity and quality. Competition exists in order to show who does best. I have no doubt that the enterprises will stand up to competition, in some cases they will surge ahead, while in others the cooperatives will catch them up, and the overall pace of socioeconomic progress will be accelerated. But let me add that the enterprises will be able to stand up to competition provided that all the restrictions are totally and consistently abolished and the bureaucratic obstacles and barriers on the path of economic initiative are removed.

[Denisov] I have read that in the United States no new enterprise is registered or granted the right to produce output until a competitor is registered. In this way both product quality and, apparently, an acceptable price are guaranteed. Is this not an example for us?

[Abalkin] That is an individual instance of the more general question of what is called the program for combating monopolies. Many of our party documents already speak of the need to combat monopolies in the Soviet economy. This struggle requires a very precise formulation, a broad program that could include not only the creation of new enterprises, but also changes at existing ones, such as, for instance, breaking them up into smaller units, creating comparatively small and medium-sized enterprises, and bringing in the foreign market as a possible counterweight to the monopoly position of individual enterprises. These proposals are now being studied, and we are taking an interest in the experience that exists abroad in what is called antitrust legislation, which precludes monopolies and collusion... There is a possibility of monopolies forming, for instance, in connection with the creation of our large intersector associations. We see their advantages, but we must also see the negative trends and provide counterbalancing forces beforehand. Nor must we forget the monopoly position of ministries as organizers of the production of output and their role and place in the economic system. In short, it is not only a question of one concrete, particular decision—the registration of a new enterprise.

[Denisov] The delegates' speeches and the conference documents emphasized the need for an all-around activation of society's intellectual and spiritual potential. What must be done now to ensure that scientific institutions finally shake off the fetters of stagnation? What measures must be adopted to ensure that every scientific worker is both willing and able really to help speed matters up?

[Abalkin] first of all I would like to emphasize the importance of the problem itself—the full mobilization of society's spiritual and scientific potential. This topic was raised in the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the party conference, in the report, and in many speeches. We often oversimplify the picture of social progress, reducing it all purely to material and technical aspects, the volume of output, the quantity of apartment blocks, food, and consumer goods. Life is far richer, more complex and contradictory, and today the significance of spiritual and intellectual factors in social progress is greater than ever before. Nothing is trivial here. There are the skills of labor, the ethos of daily relationships, moral values. It is well known that many people show pride in the country, in their rayon, in their enterprise. All this could be mobilized to resolve the common task.

As for scientific potential, science today is a system embracing many sectors, and therefore there should be diverse measures. I have in mind the switching of many institutes to economic accountability and the development of cooperative principles in science, which is also possible in principle. Many things should be changed in society's attitude to scientists, too. It has been shown that expenditure on fundamental research should

increase at a pace approximately 50 percent greater than the rate of growth of national income. Only then can fundamental science fulfill its function. I would also say that it should have sufficiently wide access to scientific, technical, planning, and statistical information and be provided with the most up-to-date instruments and equipment. The opportunity for contacts should be widened, because the most valuable thing in the intellectual sphere is the exchange of information... A general meeting of the Academy of Sciences devoted to the results of the 19th Party conference is now in preparation. It is planned for the end of September, and an intensive quest for proposals and measures is now in progress.

[Denisov] We have the experience of Fedorov, Kabaidze, and Paton. But these are isolated individuals, their example in introducing innovations operates by way of an exception, so to speak. What should be the mechanism for the active adoption of scientific achievements everywhere?

[Abalkin] Let me cite an example which may clarify some things. Recently, during the discussion of the taxation of cooperatives in the Council of Ministers Presidium, the director of a cooperative cafe on Kropotinskaya Street, also called Fedorov, began to say that Moscow's cafes are now ready to earn the state foreign currency running into millions of rubles. This money would partly be left at the cafes' own disposal to acquire, say, the necessary equipment, while the rest would go to the state. Fedorov had been pursuing this matter for a long time and in 10 months had not received a reply to his proposal... Summing up the results of the discussion, Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov said: Why does the question have to be decided for each cafe? Why should the Council of Ministers create conditions by way of an exception for Fedorov, Kabaidze, or anyone else? It is necessary to decide in principle, not to put a spoke in the wheels, but to give enterprising people the opportunity to prove themselves. It is a question of creating a system based not on individual decisions and exceptions, but on the general norms of initiative and creativity. We should not be deciding on each occasion whether or not to give permission. We need a principle: If you want to, try it, carry out research, cut the number of scientific workers drastically, increase labor remuneration out of the funds saved, make use of the funds earned, including foreign currency... When this mechanism begins to operate, the movement will take on a mass scale. Although someone will always be in front, forging a new path, sometimes painfully and with difficulty, meeting with resistance. That will, of course, always be so. But it is important to have an echelon of followers marching behind... Of course, it is possible to describe the individual components of this mechanism, but the basic norm has already been formulated: Everything that is not banned is permitted, and there should be stable normatives that are the same for everyone, not individual ones for each individual.

[Denisov] Let me recall another proposition from the conference resolution: "All attempts to command kolkhozes and sovkhozes should be stopped immediately..." Delegates also spoke of the practice of issuing commands to industrial enterprises. Why, in your view, have we not succeeded in getting rid of the strong-arm style in the economy? What should be done urgently to ensure the economic regulation of economic relations?

[Abalkin] There have been a great many calls to put an end to the practice of commands in the last 35 years—since the September (1953) plenum of the Central Committee. Lessons must be learned: We have been calling for this all that time, but it's like water off a duck's back. What is needed first and foremost is to move on from words to deeds. We need real transformations in the political system. Moreover, it is necessary to know how to exercise authority. To punish the people who use such methods publicly and remove them from their posts.

I think one of the main problems is the purely quantitative orientation. This has clouded the minds of the majority of leaders at all levels, who see it as their mission to twist people's arms and squeeze out percentages... We must also get rid of the conviction—widespread among apparatus workers—that they alone are defending state interests. It is not easy to learn to work with the new methods. There is no single formula here. As in all political activity, it is necessary to know what to say and how to turn your words into deeds, and to continue the struggle against the strong-arm style mercilessly and irreversibly, to the end.

[Denisov] But how can the role, functions, and work style of ministries be changed in practice today—there is much talk about this, but, alas, no changes yet...

[Abalkin] That depends what you call changes. It is possible to imagine that all the ministries will remain as before, and we will only improve their work style and methods. Or it is possible to approach the question differently and remember the history of the ministries' creation, their historical role. And think about whether it is correct for them to exist within the new management system, about whether the present structure is compatible with the tasks of radical restructuring of the economy. I do not think we should hurry. Apparently decisions on this question could be ready by some time around the beginning of the 13th 5-Year Plan. It is now only a question of restrictions, of preventing unjustified actions by ministries. Well, for instance, in the light of the mistakes made in 1988 when ministries supplemented the Gosplan's state orders with hundreds, even thousands, of their own, interim regulations are being adopted, under which the right to put in a state order is granted only to the highest organs, and the ministries do not have that right. True, at the moment we are only papering over the cracks in an already rather dilapidated structure. It should be a question of radical changes in the entire system of national economic management.

[Denisov] The conference resolution says: "The economy is in many respects continuing to follow an extensive path." You also spoke of this in your speech at the conference. How can the economy be switched more rapidly onto a footing of intensive development? What part should be played today by economic science, whose recommendations have hitherto often been made too late? And also: In the light of this, how do you see the relationship between economists and scientific institutions and state organs?

[Abalkin] The trouble is that we try to resolve any problem rapidly, including such a cardinal problem as that of switching the economy onto a path of intensive development. How can this process be accelerated? Of course, we can ensure that it proceeds more vigorously. But it must be clearly understood that switching the economy from one mode to another will take very great efforts and time. Without an up-to-date machine building complex and the use of fundamentally new technologies, including resource-saving technologies, this problem cannot be resolved. When we try to resolve the problem quickly, impulsive actions begin, actions that do not result in fundamental, structural transformations, and therefore the effectiveness is often zero. What we need is a program of profound, radical transformations and the ability to follow it strictly, showing patience, restraint, and an awareness that results will not be achieved in a year, nor even in 2-3 years, but will inevitably be achieved, all we have to do is act.

The main obstacle on this path, as I said at the Party conference, is the continuing orientation of the economy toward purely quantitative growth. This is not an arbitrary process, it is a conscious line pursued by state institutions and the country's planning organs from top to bottom. It is a line in which all party and soviet organs, from top to bottom, participate actively, orienting the labor collectives toward increasing purely quantitative indicators in comparison with the last 5-year plan, last year, the last quarter, and so forth. Unless we halt this trend we will not resolve the problem. Therefore I tried to say at the conference that the causes of serious difficulties in the economy, the causes of its failure to break free of the thrall of extensive development, are comparatively deep-seated, and it is very dangerous to identify them with purely external manifestations, individual bureaucrats, and so forth. I wish to stress that in this case, this was not my personal viewpoint. It is the conclusion drawn by economic science, which you can agree with or not, but it is based on reality. Prior to the conference I took part in several party meetings, and I have written mandates from the collectives of our Economics Institute, the Central Economics and Mathematics Institute, the Institute of Economics and Forecasting of Scientific and Technical Progress, and the Sociological Research Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences. To some extent I fulfilled science's mandate and recorded its conclusions.

As for the laggardness of economic science, the question looks quite different today from how it looked a few years ago. Of course, economic science has many shortcomings and a number of issues catch us unawares. For instance, not much scientific groundwork has been done on the new phenomena connected with economic accountability of union republics. But nonetheless, on a number of fundamental issues the situation today is fundamentally different from how it appears to the majority of our fellow citizens. Today it is a question of state planning and economic organs lagging behind the achievements and conclusions of science, of their unpreparedness to restructure their work in line with the recommendations that have already been drawn up. We have a whole series of completed documents that have been submitted to directive organs in relation to the switching of the economy onto an intensive path of development and the general outline for socioeconomic development in the nineties, including the 13th 5-Year Plan period. These documents differ substantially on a number of points from the proposals of the Gosplan and other central economic organs and are, in our opinion, more progressive, in accordance with the party's line of restructuring. We have appropriate recommendations on these matters, which, unfortunately, are not fully taken into account.

How do I see the relationship between science and state organs? Like everything, they require renewal. The situation has now changed in many respects, the scientists' voices are heeded more often, we are invited for consultations, for joint work. Compared with how it was 4-5 years ago, the position of economic science has changed enormously. There are more opportunities for realizing its ideas, but these are only the first steps. I think this relationship needs to be radically revised. Economic science could play a number of parts. First, it could act as the opponent to state economic organs on proposed economic, management, and social programs and decisions. Economic science, including the academy, could put forward alternatives, offering the Central Committee and the government its own option for solving a problem, in parallel with the state organs. So that the country's political leadership could compare the options and choose the best. I am not saying our option will be better than the Gosplan's. But it is a question of real competition. We and the Gosplan will feel like a state enterprise and a cooperative competing with one another. If the two options are going to be compared, each of the originators will do his utmost to make his project the better, his arguments the fullest. That is a normal relationship, it accords with the line of democratization of public life, the restructuring of the political system, and the real comparison of approaches, opinions, and alternatives. I could also mention an increase in science's expert functions in the preparation of such decisions and its direct involvement in the mechanism of adoption of major management and political, economic, and social decisions. All this will work for restructuring, for socialism, and ultimately for Soviet people's good.

Justice Minister Comments on Steps for Reform

LD3007140088 Moscow TASS in English 1129 GMT 30 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 30 TASS—"A heightening of the role of the judiciary in the socialist democracy system is one of the paramount objectives of the restructuring (perestroyka) of the Soviet society,' a TASS correspondent was told by Boris Kravtsov, USSR justice minister.

The plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee held yesterday has outlined specific steps for a practical implementation of the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference, including questions of the judicial reform. The conference demanded that Lenin's idea of the role of the judiciary in Soviet society be restored.

"It has been recognized necessary", the minister stressed, "to strengthen considerably the guarantees for implementing such democratic principles of justice as openness, strict observance of the presumption of innocence, the inadmissability both of an inculpatory bias and connivance with those who acted in breach of law".

To achieve that it is proposed to change the law of procedure and considerably broaden the rights of the parties in the suit: provide in particular for the right of lodging an appeal on error against verdicts and decisions of the USSR Supreme Court and the supreme courts of the union republics, appeals against decisions on cases of violations of administrative law. To ensure a greater objectivity of justice it is planned to enhance the independence of the people's assessors, increase their number in examining the most complicated cases in court.

As was stressed at the party conference it is necessary to enhance the prestige of the court, to ensure the unreserved independence of the judges and their subordination only to law, determine specific measures of responsibility for interference with the activities of the judiciary and contempt of court. To this end it is planned to elect the people's judges for a longer period than now, for, let us say, a term of ten years and do that at the sessions of the Soviets of People's Deputies of a higher rank.

"The Justice Ministry," Boris Kravtsov said, "sees its objective in resolutely improving the organization of the work of the courts, centering their efforts on a steady improvement of the quality of trying civilian and criminal cases.

"An organizational-technical strengthening of the courts, better material provisions for the workers of the courts, a basic and advanced training of personnel shall also be considered top priority objectives," Boris Kravtsov noted.

Agricultural

Agro-Industrial Committee Reviews Tasks, Results

LD0108210888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 1 Aug 88

[Excerpts] A routine session of the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee collegium has examined the results of the work done by the sectors of the committee over the first half of this year. Our correspondent Yuriy Gordeyev reports:

To begin with, several figures. The gross output of agriculture has, in the January-June period, increased by 3.4 percent relative to the same period last year. Purchases of cattle and poultry have increased by 5 percent, milk by 6 percent, and eggs by 4 percent. [passage omitted] If the targets ahead are set against the present rate of agricultural development, then approximately 18 years will be needed to fulfill the task with regard to meat. As for milk, the terms of reference are as follows: If public sector livestock breeding continues to develop as it is at present, then over the next 4-5 years we will merely succeed in being able to end purchases of dairy produce abroad. This means that we will not be producing in the quantity that is essential. Does this mean that unrealistic targets have been set for our public sector livestock breeding and for agriculture as a whole? Of course not. It means above all that we are not putting to use all the potential made available to us by nature. [passage omitted]

Livestock Sector Performance Reviewed

PM2907155388 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 29 Jul 88 p 3

[Animal specialist M. Glinka review: "What Is the Livestock Unit Situation?"]

[Text] The first 6 months of the year were on the whole successful for livestock raisers. They managed to increase production of all types of livestock unit output. Meat production rose by 8 percent and milk and egg production by 5 percent. Two circumstances contributed to this. First, unprecedentedly abundant feed stocks laid in last year, and second, the greater freedom of livestock unit workers who are no longer being told—even if this does not apply everywhere—how much and what livestock they should keep in order to fulfill the state purchasing plan. So it was the more highly productive livestock that was kept at livestock units, and furthermore it was much better fed and looked after than in the past. In other words, intensification factors were brought into play. These are the results (as a percentage of the first 6 months of last year):

	Livestock and Poultry Produced	Milk Produced
RSFSR	107	104
Ukraine	114	107
Belorussia	109	107
Uzbekistan	110	105
Kazakhstan	105	102
Georgia	99	97
Azerbaijan	104	99.5
Lithuania	104	103
Moldavia	112	110
Latvia	102	102
Kirghizia	107	102
Tajikistan	102	98
Armenia	99.5	97
Turkmenia	113	108
Estonia	104	103

The sales of livestock and poultry are a somewhat different matter. Sales were increased by all union republics with the exception of Moldavia and Estonia. In the RSFSR the most noticeable increase in sales of livestock and poultry for slaughter and volumes of their purchases and production of meat products was achieved in Bryansk, Kaluga, Smolensk, Kursk, Volgograd, Saratov, Chita, Amur, and Magadan Oblasts and the Karelian, Kalmyk, Komi, Bashkir, Chechen-Ingush, and Buryat ASSR's. Farms in Krasnodar Kray, the Tuva ASSR, and Astrakhan and Orenburg Oblasts, on the other hand, decreased their sales of this output.

However, livestock sales figures alone are not sufficient to assess the work of meat production livestock units and identify their reserves. After all, it is possible to fulfill (and even overfulfill) all the plans for meat sales to the state by dispatching the requisite number of animals for slaughter even if this is to the detriment of the sector's development. This, incidentally, sometimes happens, especially if plan fulfillment is timed to coincide with a jubilee of one kind or another. Therefore information about the productivity of fattening, meat production calculated per head of livestock, and daily weight gains is much more important.

Judging by these indicators Lithuanian livestock raisers have organized the fattening of cattle best of all. In the republic 257 kg of meat have been produced per cow. In Belorussia this indicator totals 235 kg, in Tajikistan only 142 kg, and in Armenia 124 kg. In the RSFSR the productivity of fattening and the volume of cattle raising have decreased in Kuybyshev, Chelyabinsk, Novosibirsk, and Kaliningrad Oblasts and Maritime Kray. Indicators vary widely here. While in Krasnodar Kray, Chuvash and Mari ASSR's, and Belgorod and Kamchatka Oblasts more than 250 kg of meat (live weight) per cow have been obtained, and in the Karachayevo-Cherkesskaya Autonomous Oblast even 347 kg, this indicator totals only 118 kg in Yaroslavl Oblast, 122 kg in the Yakut ASSR, and only 76 kg in the Tuva ASSR.

Now when in connection with the intensification of dairy farming the herd is being reduced everywhere—the number of calves is consequently also decreasing (in the country as a whole 273,000 fewer calves than during the first 6 months of last year have been produced)—the main reserve lies in the intensification of the fattening of young animals and in increasing daily weight gains in every possible way. The following comparison is an indication of the potential inherent in this sphere. In Murmansk Oblast daily weight gains of 815 grams were achieved during the first 6 months of the year, in Leningrad oblast 916 grams, and in Vladimir, Moscow, and Belgorod Oblasts more than 700 grams, whereas in Astrakhan Oblast it was only 318 grams, in Kuybyshev Oblast 384 grams, in Tyumen Oblast 374 grams, in Chita Oblast 331 grams, and in the Tuva ASSR only 229 grams! Daily weight gains have decreased noticeably at livestock units in Orenburg Oblast and the Tatar, Komi, Karelian, and Udmurt ASSR's.

The attentive reader has no doubt noticed that the highest weight gains have been achieved in places where industrial fattening takes place at large livestock complexes. The effectiveness of these complexes can be judged from the example of Tambov Oblast, for instance. Average daily weight gains in cattle total 589 grams here, which is not a bad indicator even though it is not very high. Yet at the "Kim" sovkhoz livestock complex they total 828 grams, on the "Mordovskiy" sovkhoz 781 grams, and on the "Petropavlovskiy" sovkhoz 772 grams.

Although a great deal in this sphere can also be achieved by increasing the hog population and creating hog units on farms where they had been abolished, the main reserves for increasing pork production continue to be more intensive fattening and better use of brood sows. This is the sector where it is possible to achieve the fastest results; it is very flexible in terms of animal stocks, which can be rapidly built up in case of need, for instance if there is an increased demand for young animals for fattening on the population's personal plots. This is why the situation at hog units in the RSFSR, the Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Latvia, Kirghizia, Tajikstan, and Armenia where the hog population has been reduced does not evoke approval. In Stavropol, Krasnoyarsk, and Maritime Krays and the Kabardino-Balkar ASSR the volume of hog raising has decreased by 3-14 percent as a result of reductions in the hog population and in the productivity of fattening.

Farms are incurring great losses by sending underweight animals that have not been fattened for slaughter. After all, differentiated markups on prices do not apply to such livestock; it does not count toward the average level of purchases used to determine eligibility for the 50-percent markup payable when this level is exceeded. And as of the fourth quarter of the current year underweight livestock will not be counted toward fulfillment of the state order.

Although meat production is yet to reach its peak (a large proportion of meat is sold in the second half of the year, after the animals have been grazed and fattened on cheap green feed), there are difficulties in the acceptance of livestock for slaughter right now. In Bryansk Oblast, for instance, workers at the Unechskiy meat combine have refused to accept livestock raised under contract on the population's private plots. As a result of suspension of operations due to badly planned repairs at a large number of meat processing enterprises, the meat production line is not functioning smoothly in Estonia.

As for the productivity of the dairy herd, it is possible to say that milk yields have increased in all union republics with the exception of Armenia. The biggest yields—2,153 kg of milk per cow—have been obtained in Estonia, and the lowest yields—1,050 kg per cow—in Georgia. In the RSFSR the biggest increase in milk production and purchases and in the production of dairy products has been achieved in Tomsk, Tambov, Volgograd, Penza, Irkutsk, Chita, Bryansk, Ivanovo, Orel, Ryazan, and Gorkiy Oblasts and the Mari ASSR. Gross milk yields have decreased on farms in Arkhangelsk, Vologda, Kirov, Kuybyshev, and Chelyabinsk Oblasts and Maritime Kray.

The main reason is a decline in the animals' productivity. Milk yields have decreased at livestock units on 7,000 kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and interfarm enterprises in the RSFSR, or almost one-third of the total. There are especially many such farms in Kuybyshev, Orenburg, Kalinin, and Kirov Oblasts and the Tatar and Udmurt ASSR's. The following detail provides food for thought: In Arkhangelsk and Kuybyshev Oblasts the low productivity of the dairy herd was explained by the allegedly low potential of the breeds raised in these oblasts (they are the oldest ones in Soviet stockraising)—Kholmogorskaya and Bestuzhevskaya. Local specialists were hoping to swiftly raise their productivity by cross-breeding with Holstein cattle, forgetting that the latter breed is very demanding in terms of the conditions they are kept in and feed. The result is a loss of 68 kg of milk per cow on Arkhangelsk farms over the first 6 months of the year, including 15 kg in June. In Kuybyshev Oblast these figures are 69 and 17 kg respectively. The fact that this kind of sharp drop in yields in June happened in many regions is causing concern. In Karelia the shortfall per cow as against last year totaled 28 kg, in Mordovia 14 kg, and in Udmurtiya 21 kg. Yields have also decreased in a number of other places. The reasons, I believe, lie in relying solely on green feed, taking no precautions, and letting things slide.

Grain Harvesting Situation in Ukraine Viewed

LD2907235888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 29 Jul 88

[Text] Grain is being brought in in the Ukraine, but how well will it keep? Our Kiev correspondent Vladimir Sokolov put that question to Ivan Ivanovich Shmatolyan, minister of grain products of that republic:

[Begin Shmatolyan recording] The harvest is particularly difficult in the Ukraine this year. Heavy rain and gusting winds have flattened the grain over large areas. Harvesting also continues to be hampered by the rain. Nevertheless, the harvesting rate is building up and the flow of grain into the state granaries is increasing. Our enterprises are now receiving up to half a million tonnes of it every 24 hours. It consists mainly of wheat, of which two-thirds is valuable and strong varieties.

Our enterprises have prepared thoroughly to receive the new harvest. They have introduced additional unloading, drying, and grain cleaning capacities and have organized around-the-clock work. Unfortunately, by no means all kolkhozes and sovkhozes are maintaining an around-the-clock timetable for bringing in the grain, and this creates certain difficulties. In order to speed up grain procurements and to prevent grain losses we have given permission for it to be accepted with a higher moisture content. There is sufficient drying equipment to enable us to do this, though sometimes the moisture content of the grain is such that double drying is required. Of course, this entails high fuel consumption. Unfortunately, we do not have enough fuel, and the State Committee for the Supply of Petroleum Products is supplying it in an irregular manner. Ensuring that the drying organizations have fuel, however, means ensuring that the grain will keep, the more so in view of the fact that the acceptance and storing of such late crops as maize, sunflower, and rice still lie ahead, crops which even in ordinary years have increased levels of moisture and impurity content.

We are particularly concerned about the seed stock, the acceptance and processing of which more than 200 enterprises are engaged in. The Ukraine provides seeds not just for itself but for other republics. In fact, this year because of increased demand, 85 percent more seeds than envisaged in the plan have to be prepared—almost 2 million tonnes. Our enterprises have prepared well for this work, but the union bodies and the railwaymen must help in dispatching the prepared seeds to other regions as they are procured and processed in order to prevent bottlenecks. In a word it is everyone's task and one of prime importance to take care of everything that has been grown right down to the last grain. [end recording]

Yes, careful masters of the land today do not think just about harvesting the grain, but about keeping it; and that means they are also thinking about future harvests. This year the agricultural workers' task is to bring in no less than 235 million tonnes of grain, which will help even greater targets to be reached in the future, in the 12th 5-Year Plan period. This is something we all need, for over the past 2 years, despite increases in crop yields by comparison with the 11th 5-Year Plan period, the amount delivered to the state was still short by 21 million tonnes of grain. This is the result of the fact that 7,000 kolkhozes and sovkhozes in the country have obtained per-hectare grain yields as low as 8 or 9 quintals.

It has long been said that bread makes everything possible. Annual shortfalls in large quantities of grain are not only holding back the development of the production of livestock farming and improvements in the provision of valuable foodstuffs for the population, but are having an extremely negative effect upon the country's economy. That is why such fixed attention is being given today to grain harvesting and to its safekeeping. Lease contracting and family contracting are good helpers for the grain growers.

Moscow Papers Report Harvesting Progress

PM2907133788 [Editorial Report] Recent editions of Moscow central newspapers cite the following grain harvesting figures:

PRAVDA 28 July Second Edition front-pages a report headlined "The USSR State Committee for Statistics Reports" which reads:

"The grain crop harvest is gathering momentum. By 25 July 26.8 million hectares of grain and pulse crops (excluding corn) had been reaped. Some 21.5 million hectares of grain had been threshed.

"Work is continuing in the feed meadows. Hay stocks have increased to 49 million tonnes, cured hay stocks to 54.9 million tonnes, and silage stocks to 13 million tonnes."

The same day's edition of SELSKAYA ZHIZN front-pages a "Harvest Diary" report which includes the following passage:

"Harvesting is in full swing in the central Chernozem zone. Voronezh Oblast machine operators' labor assault is not being stopped by either intense heat or rain. They have threshed 773,000 tonnes of grain. This is 52 percent of the sown area. The state has been sold over 1 million tonnes of grain.

"But how is the harvesting going in other oblasts in the zone? In Lipetsk Oblast 32 percent of the grain crop area has been harvested, and 238,000 tonnes of grain have been sold to the state; while the corresponding figures for Belgorod Oblast are 26 percent and 156,000 tonnes; for Kursk Oblast, 8 percent and 61,000 tonnes; and for Tambov Oblast 7 percent and 174,000 tonnes."

The first edition of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA for 29 July includes in its front-page "Harvest-88 Roundup" the information that "Kuban grain farmers yesterday completed the sale to the state of their second million tonnes of grain. The bulk—1.6 million tonnes—comprises durum and high-value strains of wheat.

"Newly harvested Kuban grain is continuing to flow into the reception centers."

Agricultural Developments for 27-30 Jul

LD3007031888 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, on 27-30 July. GMT times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

27 July:

No fileworthy items monitored.

28 July:

The kolkhozes and sovkhozes of Ryazan Oblast have handed over 200,000 tonnes of grain, made up primarily of winter wheat and rye. (0204)

Harvesting of corn for silage, which covers around 150,000 hectares in the republic this year, has begun in Uzbekistan. Combine harvesters are out in the majority of oblasts, except the northern ones. (0204)

Farmers of the Zavety Ilyicha Kolkhoz in Kirovskiy Rayon, Stavropol Kray, have boosted the grain harvest by more than 1 and ½ times using the technology of British firm ICI [Imperial Chemical Industries]. This year each hectare yields 50 quintals or more, and Donskaya Intensivnaya wheat yielded 58 quintals from each of the 200 hectares. All winter crops are cultivated on the farm according to intensive technology, the gist of which is precise consideration of the crops' needs for nutrition elements; careful chemical analysis of the soil, stalks, and blades of wheat; and other precise methods of study needed for feeding the crops at the right moment. (0600)

An unusually good harvest of early grain crops has been grown almost everywhere in Amur Oblast, but supplies of fuel and lubricants for agricultural machinery is extremely unsatisfactory. Most of the combines and tractors have only 1 and ½ or 2 days of fuel reserves because in the first half of the year the Amur agro-industrial complex was supplied by enterprises of USSR State Committee for the Supply of Petroleum Products with more than 9,000 tons of diesel fuel less than envisaged. Supplies of rubber components for motor vehicles are also short. Amur farmers need help. (0600)

About 3 million tonnes of grain from farms in the Ukraine have already gone into State granaries. The annual plan is for 3.5 million tonnes. (1000)

Grain growers completed sales of the second million tonnes today in Kuban. Rostov Oblast grain growers are into account sales of the third million tonnes. (1000)

Cotton farmers and workers in the cotton-processing industry have begun preparations for the 1988 harvest. According to specialist assessments, a good crop is maturing on the republic's cotton fields, with an area of

more than 300,000 hectares. Farmers have the opportunity not merely to meet pledges, but also to make up for the harvest shortfall of last season, when the annual plan for the gathering of the valuable textile raw material was not fulfilled. This year, the republic's farmers expect to gather more than 900,000 tonnes of raw cotton. (1330)

The rate of hay-making and fodder-gathering in the republic is a little lower than last year's at the moment. Sown and natural grasses have been cut on an area of almost 260,000 hectares. Less coarse and succulent fodder and vitaminized grass meal has been laid in than last year—about 7 quintals of fodder units per standard head of large-horned cattle has been laid in. Second sowing is being carried out on irrigated land after grain harvesting; corn for grain and silage and pulse-cereal-grass mixtures are being sown on more than 26,000 hectares. (1330)

29 July:

Harvesting of winter crops is coming to an end in Mordovia, where all rayons are selling crops to the state. Cereals have been cut on more than half their total area. (0200)

The farms of Belorussia have now delivered over 1 million tonnes of grain to reception points. There are problems, however, because of the wet conditions. Grain has been harvested from only 500,000 hectares. (0204)

In Stavropol Kray the 1.5 millionth tonne of grain has gone from farms to state storage facilities. Belorussian grain growers are delivering grain amounting to 2 million tonnes to receiving stations. (1000)

30 July:

Five steppe rayons in Stavropol Kray are ahead of the year's plan for delivery of grain to the state. The farmers of the region have just over 400,000 tonnes to go to fulfill their socialist obligations. (0104)

The kolkhozes and sovkhozes of the agro-industrial complex of the Ryazan non-Chernozem zone have supplied 250,000 tonnes of grain to the state granaries. This is almost one-half of the plan. The harvest of winter wheat and rye is not bad either, despite a lengthy drought. (0204)

The farms of Kharkov Oblast have overfulfilled the plan for sales of strong and valuable wheat to the state by one and a half times, with a figure of 400,000 tonnes. Financially autonomous collectives working on lease contracting are doing best. (0204)

The farmers of Volgograd Oblast have produced 1 million tonnes of grain, two-thirds of it made up of strong and valuable wheat. This is the first time in recent decades that such a figure has been achieved. PRAVDA correspondent Shcherbinin considers that it is due not just to good weather, but to new forms of management as well; 1,140 of the oblast's collectives are working on contracting in this year's harvest, half of them on a lease basis. Independence founded on economic responsibility is forcing them to take correct decisions, and the economy as a whole is benefitting. (0300)

In Urdmurtiya, cereals have been harvested from almost 300,000 hectares. (1300)

Scientific

'Mir' Space Station Crew Continues Work

LD3107210788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1950 GMT 31 Jul 88

[Text] The working week is starting for the crew of the Mir manned spacecraft. It is the 225th day in near-earth orbit for Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov. They are continuing with astrophysical research, technical experiments, and unloading of the Progress-37 ship.

Within the framework of the Roentgen international extra-atmospheric astronomy research program, it is intended to carry out another few series of experiments.

Reports from the crew and telemetric data indicate that the flight is proceeding according to the set program. Both cosmonauts are well and are feeling fine.

Cameras Aim at Farm Regions

LD0108101988 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 31 Jul 88

[Text] The photocameras of the orbital complex Mir, where two Soviet cosmonauts are working, are today aimed at the fields where harvesting is going on. At the request of agricultural specialists, Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov are photographing the territory of the Ukraine, the northern Caucasus, the Volga area, and central Asia. Pictures taken from space will help specialists determine the best time to start harvesting and also to make better use of harvesting machinery. This year the weather in most regions of the European part of the Soviet Union has been favorable for farming.

Soviet-Afghan Space Flight Plans Reported

LD2907131388 Moscow TASS in English 1307 GMT 29 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 29 TASS—Exactly a month is left before the start of the international Soviet-Afghan space flight. The launching has been scheduled for August 29.

Now the Afghan pilots—Colonel Muhammed Dauran and Captain Mohmand 'Abdullah Ahad—are having a hectic time. They are continuing pre-flight training at the cosmonaut training centre near Moscow. The two international Soviet-Afghan crews include pilot-cosmonauts of the USSR Vladimir Lyakhov, Anatoliy Berezovoy and medical men Valeriy Polyakov and Gherman Arzamov. One of the Afghan pilots will be lucky to work as

researcher cosmonaut among the international crew in the Soviet orbital complex "Mir", where Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov have been on duty since December 21, 1987.

The mission will last eight days. It is planned to carry out around ten experiments, including long distance probing of the earth—the survey of some regions of Afghanistan, medical-biological research, including an experiment "adaptation". A leading trend in the programme is the study of Afghanistan's natural resources. As experts believe, this will serve towards a more purposeful search for minerals and development of the country's agriculture.

Committee Meets in Kabul

LD3107182788 Moscow TASS in English
1808 GMT 31 Jul 88

[Text] Kabul July 31 TASS—The commission for preparations for the joint Soviet-Afghan space flight has met in Kabul today. Addressing the meeting, Mohammad Aslam Watanjar, Afghanistan's communications minister, who chairs the commission, briefed those present at the meeting, among whom was President Najibullah and Prime Minister Mohammad Hasan Sharq on the course of the preparations of the candidates for the flight and on the plan of space research to be carried out by the cosmonauts. Mohammad Aslam Watanjar drew special attention to the significance of the joint flight for the study of Afghanistan's natural resources.

President Najibullah pointed out the tremendous role of outer space exploration, including in the course of the upcoming Soviet-Afghan flight. He pointed out the importance of that event for the country's economic development, enhancing its international prestige and strengthening traditional Afghan-Soviet friendship.

Phobos Studies Shock Wave in Magnetosphere

LD2907162088 Moscow TASS in English
1454 GMT 29 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 29 TASS—TASS correspondent Vladimir Isachenkov writes:

Soon after the blastoff of two Soviet automatic stations toward a Martian moon, Phobos, onboard instruments have registered a shock wave. It forms on the border of the interaction of solar wind with the earth's magnetosphere.

The processing of telemetric information goes on, but in the opinion of superviser of the experiment Dr. Stanislav Klimov, it can already be asserted that unique results have been obtained.

The scientist noted that the earth has a strong magnetic field which is formed as a result of the movement of negatively charged particles, electrons in the nuclei, with regard to electrons in the mantle and the corona. A magnetic field is thus formed which is similar in its nature to an inductance coil. The magnetosphere is the area in the near-earth space within which a magnetic field exists. The influence of solar wind (a stream of charged particles coming from the sun) imparts to it the form of a drop.

Klimov is of the opinion that the study of the position and structure of a shock wave, of the spectra of electromagnetic emissions in it provides important information about the magnetic field of the planet.

When automatic stations reach Mars in January of next year, the Martian magnetosphere and the nature of its interaction with solar wind will be studied in detail for the first time. It will be interesting to compare the data about shock waves near the Earth and Mars obtained with the use of one and the same instrument. The instrument has been created by specialists of the Polish People's Republic, the USSR, Czechoslovakia and the European Space Agency. Scientists of 13 countries took part in the development of scientific equipment installed on the automatic stations.

It is quite difficult to register a shock wave, Klimov said. It is positioned at a distance of approximately 30 radii of the earth (180 thousand kilometres). And it takes an automatic station about 20 hours to reach it. The width of the wave is ten seconds. Thus events with a duration of ten seconds must be registered during 20 hours of the flight. Shock waves are studied by the spectra of electromagnetic oscillations. Such spectra in a broad range of frequencies from 0.2 hertz to 100 kilohertz were obtained during the experiment for the first time.

The position of a shock wave in space depends on the parameters of solar wind and the planet's magnetosphere and changes rapidly. The shock wave moves with a speed of tens and hundreds of kilometres per second. During the flight the apparatus crossed the area of the wave seven times. In addition to perfect equipment, a lucky chance helped the researchers: A strong magnetic storm was registered on July 7, the day when Phobos-1 was launched. And when Phobos-2 was blasted off on July 12, the earth's magnetosphere was in a relatively calm state. So shock waves of different types have been registered.

Military

General Comments on Ignoring Political Solutions

AU2907210588 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
27 Jul 88 p 6

[Interview with Colonel General Vladimir Lobov, first deputy chief of staff of the USSR Armed Forces, by NOVOSTI correspondent V. Pogrebenkov: "How To Ensure Security?"; date and place not given]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Pogrebenkov] In the past, when striving for military-strategic parity, we have not always made use of the possibility of ensuring the state's security by political means and, as the result, we let

ourselves be dragged into a feverish arms buildup. How would you comment on this thesis from the report delivered by Mikhail Gorbachev at the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference?

[Lobov] This assessment was justified for the 1970's, and therefore it cannot be applied to our preceding activity. I will try to clarify this idea of mine.

Before the war [World War II], all our attempts to convince the ruling circles in the West about the need to reduce armed forces and armaments, build international relations on the foundation of peaceful coexistence, and set up a European security system were not crowned with success. At that time, the Soviet Union was the only socialist country firmly encircled by capitalist states, of which not a single one would have had anything against solving its problems at our expense. The Western powers—above all the United States, England, and France—were doing all they could to direct Hitler's aggressive efforts to the East. Therefore, we had to resolve the issue of ensuring our defense by building up new and strengthening the existing armed forces. After the war, as is known, the West again declared cold war on us, created a war threat to our state. Under these conditions, there was very little scope for diplomacy.

The situation changed when the Soviet Union achieved military-strategic parity with the United States, when the West comprehended that it could not talk with us from the position of strength. At that time, however, we did not appreciate the power of political means and, as if from momentum, we continued our orientation toward ensuring our security by maintaining military parity with the United States and NATO.

The Soviet leadership undertook many steps to guarantee peaceful conditions for our country's development. However, we still had the consequences of the war fresh in our mind. The following thought predominated in the thinking of the Soviet people: Let there be a shortage of this and that, as long as the fatherland is well protected. We never had conquest in mind. I admit that I never liked listening to how some people in the West were distorting our efforts aimed at strengthening our defense, passing it off as preparations for aggression.

After the war, when determining our defense possibilities, we often abided not by politics, but by the technology of weapons production. After the war we inherited good technology for the production, for example, of tanks, and we followed the traditional path. We were thinking like this: The more weapons we have, the better protected the country will be, the greater its security will be. One has to say that we were trying to compensate with tanks for the American nuclear weapons in Europe, which we did not have at that time. It became obvious that we had more tanks.

In the 1970's we gave preference to the more perfect missiles. We did not rely much on the effectiveness of political instruments. [passage omitted]

Naval Chief Chernavin Gives 'Navy Day' Address

LD3108121588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1120 GMT 31 Jul 88

[Speech by Vladimir Nikolayevich Chernavin, USSR deputy defense minister, naval commander in chief, and Hero of the Soviet Union, on 31 July on the occasion of Navy Day; place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] Dear comrades: In marking today, a great festive occasion for the Soviet people—Navy Day—I want to note that we are marking this holiday in a special atmosphere in the country, in an atmosphere that is characterized by the powerful effect on all aspects of our life of the recently held 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and its decisions. These decisions inspire the occasion itself, Navy Day, and all sailors with particular pride for our country, our party, our people, and for the fact that we are all not only witnesses to, but also active, direct participants in the great achievements occurring in our country today.

Our country, as is known, is not only a great continental but it is also an equally great maritime power. Today we are rightly proud of the fact that revolutionary sailors were in the vanguard of the active participants in the Great October Socialist Revolution; their sons and grandsons were heroic defenders of the freedom and independence of our great native land in the difficult fiery years of the war, and are reliable defenders of maritime borders in peacetime.

In honoring our sailors today, we ought also to say kind words to our scientists, engineers, designers, and workers, all those who create with their minds and hands the most up to date ships and combat hardware that is today used to equip our naval fleet.

Today our sailors are accomplishing important tasks in the expanses of the world's oceans relating to ensuring the security of our homeland, the security of our allies and countries with which we have friendly relations, and strengthening friendship between peoples. They are constantly at a high level of readiness to cut short any aggression at sea. Sailors must accomplish these tasks in difficult conditions, in any, even the most unfavorable, weather. The indicator of the political barometer on many seas and oceans invariably points to stormy weather.

What this leads to is borne out both by the situation in the Mediterranean and the situation in the Persian Gulf, where recently, through the fault of the U.S. naval forces, tragedy struck in the destruction of an Iranian passenger

plane on board which 298 people died. It is not calm in other regions of the world's oceans as well where our Soviet sailors are performing their combat tour of duty today.

It was stressed at the party conference that building defense should be determined primarily by qualitative parameters, both in hardware and personnel. I can say today with pride and a sense of responsibility that the Navy's personnel is our main reserve in enhancing combat power and combat readiness. Sailors on long sea voyages, in the depths of the ocean, and in difficult flights over boundless waters constantly display skill, and a high level of training, courage, and heroism at times too.

For example, the crews of missile-carrying cruisers "Groznyy" and "Varyag," of the large antisubmarine ship "Ochakov," of the atomic submarine "Leninskiy Komsomol," of the frigate "Bezzavetnyy," and of many other ships in our fleet are performing their tasks worthily in the seas and oceans. Model examples of martial labor are being set by naval airmen and marine infantrymen, by our military builders and by all categories of personnel in our Naval Fleet.

At the same time, we have a considerable amount of unsolved problems, difficulties, and shortcomings, and sometimes simply of poor quality in work and discipline. In short, we are all faced with a great deal of persistent work in fulfilling the conference's mandate concerning the need to adopt, for the most part, qualitative criteria in assessing the training of naval forces, and with adding considerably to our work—each of us and all together.

The military threat from imperialism still remains today. We must by no means forget this if we really wish to draw the correct conclusions from our history. Even more concern is caused by the pacifist moods which sometimes occur, by failings in the military-patriotic education of young people, and by shortcomings in work concerning their physical state and the preparation of young people for service in the Army and the fleet. This is impermissable. Historical experience teaches us that you must not trifle with such matters; we must do everything necessary to eliminate such shortcomings from our work. This is our duty, to the fallen and to the living, to the present and to the future.

Dear comrades, allow me to cordially congratulate the sailors, their families, kith and kin, and all Soviet people on the nationwide holiday of Soviet Navy Day, and to wish all of you, dear comrades, prosperity and good future, happiness and great success in life and labor for the good of our great motherland. Thank you for your attention.

Lushev Attends Far East Military District Jubilee
PM0208090588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Aug 88 First Edition p 1

[Lieutenant Colonel V. Usoltsev report: "Military District's Jubilee"]

[Text] The Red Banner Far East Military District celebrated its 70th anniversary last Sunday.

A reception for the military district's frontline fighters and veterans and the socialist competition winners who excelled in combat and political training was held at the Far East Military District Military Council the day before, 30 July.

Lieutenant General A. Voronin, member of the Military Council and chief of the Military District Political Directorate, Lt Gen V. Novozhilov, first deputy commander of the Military District, and Lt Gen V. Kovalev, chief of staff of the Military District, presented valuable gifts to the socialist competition front-rankers and the veterans.

A festive meeting to mark the 70th anniversary of the Far East Military District was held the same day. Colonel General M. Moiseyev, commander of the Military District, read a report. Army Gen P. Lushev, USSR first deputy defense minister, who attended the meeting, read out a greetings message from the USSR defense minister. The meeting was also addressed by A. Chernyy, first secretary of the Khabarovsk Party Kraykom; Col Gen A. Betekhtin, commander of the Transbaykal Military District; Admiral G. Khvatov, commander of the Pacific Fleet; S. Travkin, chairman of the Khabarovsk War Veterans Section; and others.

A demonstration performance by gymnasts, acrobats, wrestlers, boxers, paratroopers, airborne forces, and firefighters was held at the Khabarovsk Army Sports Club fields the next day, 31 July. Specimens of combat equipment were displayed on special stands. The aroma from field kitchens filled the air, and the city residents who attended the festivities could taste the soldiers' food. Military subunits marched through the city streets, singing to the accompaniment of bands.